

Zeebrugge aftermath Page 3

Teachers return to work today

By BERNARD JOSEPHS and LEA LEVAVI
Jerusalem Post Reporters

Teachers will return to work today following the Treasury's agreement late last night to transfer NIS 29.5 million to cover their February salaries.

The Treasury agreed to transfer the funds on condition that the Education Ministry would later collect this sum from parents as part of the school fee being considered by the Knesset.

Members of the Histadrut's Teachers' Union will work regular hours today and members of the Secondary School Teachers' Association will leave their classrooms at 11 a.m. if their salaries have not reached the bank by then.

The agreement appears to be a defeat for Education Ministry officials who had earlier said they couldn't agree to the Treasury's terms for granting the money.

They had pointed out that the Knesset had not yet passed an educa-

tion levy of NIS 64 million. Late last night an Education Ministry source admitted that the levy would now have to be even higher in order to raise the money for teachers' salaries.

"The fact is that we didn't have much choice but to agree to the Treasury's terms," said an official.

Hundreds of high-school teachers yesterday walked out early because they had not received their February salaries.

The pay hold-up is due to a dispute between the Treasury and the Education Ministry over the education budget, which has been cut by NIS 44 million this year.

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A worker paints over a bullet-pocked portrait of Iranian leader Ayatollah Khomeini as part of a general cleaning campaign in West Beirut yesterday. (AFP telephoto)

Boy crushed to death under cement mixer

By ANDY COURT
For the Jerusalem Post

A seven-year-old boy was crushed to death in Jerusalem yesterday when part of a cement mixer fell on him at a construction site near the Ramat Shimon school he attended.

Police investigators said the boy, Lerau Tuito, had wandered into the construction site with two friends after school. They climbed on to the cement mixer, and part of it toppled and crushed Tuito.

A crane at the construction site was used to lift the equipment, but it was too late to save Tuito, who died at the scene.

His classmate, Yaniv Harel, was treated for light injuries at Shaarei Zedek Hospital and released yesterday afternoon. A third child was uninjured.

The Labour Ministry and the Jerusalem police are investigating whether the building contractor had complied with the law requiring that unused equipment be fenced off.

The Education Ministry has also set up a committee to investigate the circumstances of the boy's death.

Shortly after the accident, the



Lerau Tuito. (Scoop 80)

school principal told reporters that "the whole area belonging to the school is fenced in and protected," and that the children had strayed into a private area where they had been warned not to go.

10 police, 1 woman hurt as Golan Druse riot

By DAVID RUDGE
BUKATA. — Ten policemen and a

Druse woman were injured during riots at this Golan Heights village yesterday.

The woman was apparently hit in the head by a bullet after police fired warning shots and teargas canisters to repel stone throwing demonstrators marking the 24th anniversary of the Ba'ath Party's rise to power in Syria.

The woman was taken by ambu-

expected to make more arrests last night.

The violence erupted when hundreds of residents and high-school pupils blocked the road to the nearby village of Mas'ada. The demonstrators unfurled Syrian flags and sang nationalist songs. Many of them were armed with stones, iron bars and sticks.

The Golan Heights district police commander, Ya'acov Ganot, stressed that the police had opened fire only

Post Middle East Staff
Syrian President Hafez Assad said yesterday that "there is no alternative but to liberate the Golan." In a speech broadcast over Damascus Radio on the 24th anniversary of the Syrian Ba'ath Party's rise to power, Assad said the "resistance" in the Golan Heights and asserted: "The people of Syria are with you, and will never give up an inch of the Golan. We have a rendezvous with its liberation."

Assad also defended Syria's February 22 deployment of troops in West Beirut, saying, "Syria did not respond to the calls made by its Lebanese brethren, until the situation was so confused that nobody knew who was fighting whom."

But he added that "Syria and Lebanon are one people, and our decision is to stand by Lebanon."

On the domestic front, Assad admitted that "there are economic problems in Syria."

lance to the Magen David Adom station in Kiryat Shmona and later transferred by helicopter to Rambam Hospital in Haifa, where her condition was described as "critical."

Several of the injured policemen also required medical treatment, including one who was stabbed by a man wielding a knife. The attacker and four other suspects were arrested at the scene. Police were

as a last resort when it appeared that their safety was threatened.

The crowd eventually dispersed, but the atmosphere in the region was described as very tense.

Recent unrest in the Golan Druse villages began with rioting last month, when police prevented residents from staging demonstrations to mark the fifth anniversary of the imposition of Israeli law on the region. (Golan's young Syrians — Page 4)

Call in cabinet for Pollard probe

Leaders unite to prevent inquiry

Jerusalem Post Staff
Prime Minister Shamir, Vice Premier Peres and Defence Minister Rabin have closed ranks to prevent the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry into the Pollard espionage affair.

At yesterday's weekly cabinet session, after three ministers tabled formal questions about the affair and its implications, there was a general call for the inner cabinet to be given an authoritative briefing and to discuss the Pollard case in depth.

Several ministers said that an internal inquiry was essential to probe the mishap in depth, and asked for assurances that the necessary steps had been taken to prevent a recurrence of such rogue espionage operations in the future.

Outside the cabinet, observers said that Shamir was lending Peres and Rabin the same moral support in the Pollard affair as they had lent him in the Ashkelon bus hijacking and subsequent cover-up last year.

(The Pollard espionage operation began when Moshe Arens was de-

fence minister and Shamir prime minister, but coincided primarily with the period from 1984 when Peres was prime minister and Rabin was defence minister. The now disbanded section that handled the espionage operation came under the Defence Ministry.)

Shamir was flatly opposed to an inquiry in his address to Jewish leaders from Miami in Jerusalem last night.

"I don't think we need a special commission of investigation," he said. "As far as Israel is concerned, the Pollard affair is closed. We know what happened and we have done everything to ensure that it won't happen again," he told the audience.

He added that the government had dismantled the unit responsible for the Pollard affair, "which means that such rogue operations will not be carried out in the future."

"The episode was painful," he said. "But between two friendly countries, mistakes happen. The operation was unauthorized, but it was carried out by highly dedicated people. They have contributed a great

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 1)

Shamir: Sella loses chance to head air force

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir revealed last night that Aluf Mishne Aviem Sella had been a candidate for chief of the Air Force, but because of the Pollard affair had lost his chance.

"This is the heaviest penalty a man like this can pay," Shamir said. "Does punishment only mean going to jail?"

Shamir, speaking to a meeting of educators at his home, said Sella and Rafi Eitan had been candidates, but dedicated men in the service of the state. Being denied their chance to continue to serve was the heaviest punishment they could suffer.

"No economic position can compensate for that," Shamir said, referring to Eitan whom he called a "virtuoso" and "prodigy" of the intelligence community.

Pollard moved to special prison after murder threat

By WOLF BLITZER

WASHINGTON. — Convicted spy Jonathan Jay Pollard has been moved to a federal prison in Springfield, Missouri, for his own protection. The Jerusalem Post has learned.

Pollard was moved from the federal prison in Petersburg, Virginia, to the one in Springfield because of the numerous death threats he has received from other inmates. Black Muslim and Aryan Brotherhood prisoners have repeatedly threatened to kill him because he spied for Israel.

"U.S. law-enforcement authorities have confirmed that Pollard could easily be killed if he were thrown into a general prison population. As a result, they have sent him to the institution in Springfield where a special unit has been established for about 30 prisoners under death threat."

His parents, Dr. and Mrs. Morris Pollard of South Bend, Indiana, returned home over the weekend after unsuccessfully attempting to see him in Petersburg before he was moved to Springfield.

His wife, Anne Henderson-Pollard, is in a federal prison hospital in Lexington, Kentucky. She is said to be in great physical pain because she is not permitted to take some of her prescribed medication for severe stomach disorders.

Her father, Bernard Henderson, said yesterday that she is only allowed to take non-narcotic medication. But that is "not enough to relieve her of the constant pain," he said.

Henderson said he spoke by telephone with his daughter on Saturday. She said that her current surroundings were clearly better than those at the District of Columbia jail where she earlier spent nearly 100 days before being released on bail.

But she complained that she was badly bruised because she had been "roughed up" by federal marshals when leaving the U.S. District Court last Wednesday. After hearing the judge sentence Pollard to life in prison and her to five years, she screamed hysterically and had to be sedated. She was immediately flown to Lexington.

Pollard and his wife are not allowed to see each other. Their only form of communication will be through the mail. Both can occasionally make outgoing telephone calls from prison, but only "collect."

The catch, however, is that neither can accept "collect" calls from the other.

Henderson said that he and Dr. Pollard have not yet received any financial contributions to help pay for the expenses for their children's legal defence. Their combined legal

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Barring Yaron coordinated with the U.S.

By WOLF BLITZER

WASHINGTON. — Canada's decision to reject the diplomatic credentials of General Amos Yaron as Israel's military attaché is believed to have been coordinated with the U.S., well-informed sources said here yesterday.

Yaron, who is currently serving as Israel's military attaché in Washington, was rejected by Canada because of his involvement in the Sabra and Shatila massacres in Beirut in September 1982. He was in command of the Israeli forces in the Lebanese capital when Phalangist militiamen moved into the Palestinian refugee camps to avenge the assassination of president-elect Bashir Gemayel. The Kahan Commission of Inquiry later charged him with "indirect" responsibility for the massacres, noting that he should have done more to prevent them.

Traditionally, the Israeli military attaché in Washington serves simultaneously in Ottawa as well.

Although the Reagan administration initially accepted Yaron's posting to Washington last summer, it has since been actively trying to encourage Israel to recall him. The matter has been raised in recent months with Defence Minister Yit-

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Vanunu fires his lawyer

Mordechai Vanunu yesterday dismissed his attorney, Amnon Zichroni, just a few days before he was scheduled to go on trial for revealing Israel's alleged nuclear secrets to The Sunday Times of London.

During a meeting with Zichroni in prison, Vanunu reportedly expressed gratitude for his professional help

but said he felt he had not fought aggressively enough for improved prison conditions, and that he had not identified with his alleged crimes.

"He was also not pleased by what he termed the intimate relationship I have with members of the Shin Bet," Zichroni said. (Itim).

Herut agrees on convention agenda

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A collective sigh of relief swept through Herut last night as its leaders reached a tentative agreement on the agenda for the upcoming party convention.

A meeting of Herut ministers with Prime Minister Shamir decided yesterday afternoon to adopt a compromise proposal submitted by Labour Minister Moshe Katsav, by which the convention would elect, in addition to the chairman of the party, three main officeholders: deputy chairman, chairman of the central committee, and chairman of the secretariat.

Disagreements over the agenda had threatened a repeat of last year's raucous convention, which broke up prematurely.

Sources in Herut said last night that Deputy Prime Minister David Levy appeared to have "capitulated" by not insisting on his earlier demand that a candidate could com-

pete for more than one of the above positions.

Sources close to Levy, however, said that he had actually triumphed, because he had only wished to establish the "principle that one can compete" for the positions.

The Herut ministers will meet again with Shamir on Wednesday to hammer out the technical details of the agreement. Some Herut officials said last night that the agreement might still fall apart "when the sides get down to the small print."

If the agreement holds, party officials plan to hold the convention on April 1.

Well-placed sources in the party believe that under last night's agreement, Levy will be elected deputy chairman, Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon will be chosen chairman of the central committee, and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens will be chosen chairman of the party secretariat.

The convention must agree to

change the party's constitution to establish the hitherto non-existent post of deputy chairman. Some Herut members also plan to introduce a motion barring cabinet ministers from vying for the top party posts.

Calling the agreement a "landmark" on the way to victory in upcoming elections, Arens told convention delegates last night that they had an "almost holy" obligation to make sure that the convention was "peaceful, orderly and beautiful."

Arens told a meeting of the Shamir camp — sometimes also known as the Arens camp — that "the contests in the party are, at this time, superfluous." Arens said that if Herut overcame its bickering, its overwhelming victory in the elections was assured.

Arens attacked the Labour Party — referring to it as "the left" — and said that it suffered from a "lack of faith." He added that he did not doubt that "many of those who

speak of an international conference are also speaking, in the same breath, of withdrawal from Judea and Samaria."

Herut, on the other hand, "wants Israel sovereignty to extend to the Jordan River," Arens said.

Referring to the criticism voiced in the cabinet yesterday by Levy and Education Minister Yitzhak Navon against his plan to equalize the rights of Druse and Circassians with those of Jews, Arens said that he was "disappointed" by the attitude of Labour and that he "couldn't believe his ears" when Levy ascribed party considerations to his proposal.

Arens also spoke up for the Lavi jet fighter, saying that it was "the most advanced and glorious achievement of the aviation industry — the best combat fighter in the world." He added that the Lavi was crucial for Israel's defence because it was the only plane that would not be flown by enemy air forces.

Levy raps Shamir, Arens on Druse decision

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Housing Minister David Levy yesterday attacked Prime Minister Shamir and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Arens for proposing to grant Druse and Circassian citizens the same conditions as Jews in a number of important spheres.

Levy's criticism, delivered at the cabinet's weekly meeting, provided a backdrop for noisy exchanges among the Herut party leaders who are limbering up for the party's convention at the end of the month.

Arens submitted a request to the cabinet for an annual budget of NIS 16 million to cover equal employment opportunities, equal privileges for Druse and Circassian IDF veterans, equal aid to local authorities,

and the granting of development town status to Druse and Circassian localities, where their Jewish neighbours already enjoy such status.

The moment the discussion began, Levy accused Arens of "hitching a ride on other people's proposals, with a plan that is unprofessional, uninformed and amateurish and drawn up without consulting any of the other ministers involved."

Levy said that instead of ensuring that Druse and Circassian citizens benefit from equal treatment in all government departments, Arens had adopted the "reprehensible course" of concentrating all handling of these communities' affairs in his own office.

Levy asked: "How is it that the

prime minister agrees to become an accessory to this plan, without learning what the issue is all about?" He also blamed Shamir for meeting Druse leaders last week and discussing the proposals, without inviting the various ministers involved.

"Shamir's predecessor always made sure that the relevant ministers were invited to such meetings," Levy said, in a back-handed compliment to Vice Premier Peres.

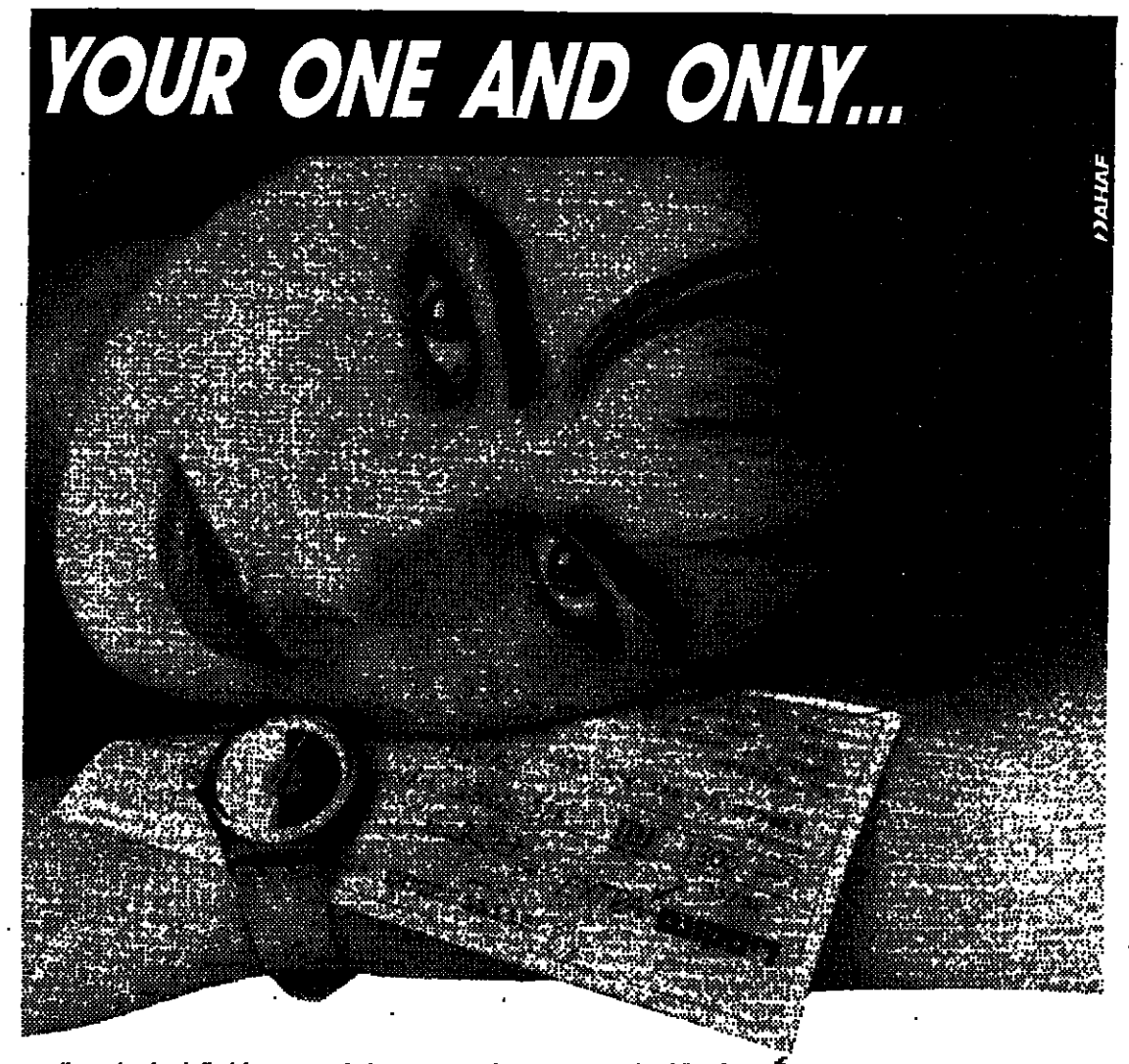
He added: "This plan does not have the true interests of the state at heart. It is motivated by a certain event due to take place on a certain date at the end of this month," this being a clear reference to the Herut conference.

Education Minister Yitzhak

Navon asked what the point was of discussing a matter in the cabinet which Shamir had virtually settled with the Druse leaders. Shamir replied that "there was no conflict or contradiction."

Peres and Minister-without-Portfolio Ezer Weizman asked why Arens was handling the Druse and Circassian issue, when this was not supposed to be part of his brief on Israeli Arab affairs.

Navon then pleaded that "the issue not be turned into a political football." He said that if there were one single issue on which the cabinet should maintain consensus, it was the conditions to be granted to Druse and Circassian citizens.



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	N.3,87	MIN.	MAX.	
AMSTERDAM	-4	25	3	Clear
BRUSSELS	-4	25	4	Clear
CHICAGO	-17	43	32	Clear
COPENHAGEN	-12	10	4	Cloudy
FRANKFURT	-7	19	3	Clear
GENEVA	-3	27	2	Clear
Helsinki	-11	13	-4	Cloudy
HONG KONG	22	72	24	Cloudy
JERUSALEM	16	41	28	Clear
LONDON	12	53	75	Clear
MADRID	9	48	24	Cloudy
MONTREAL	-8	18	1	Clear
NEW YORK	-1	31	13	Clear
OSLO	-13	9	-2	Cloudy
PARIS	1	34	7	Cloudy
ROME	19	47	28	Clear
SAPORO	10	61	31	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	-12	10	-4	Cloudy
TOKYO	4	37	7	Cloudy
TORONTO	-8	23	12	Cloudy
VIENNA	-4	16	-2	Cloudy
ZURICH	-4	28	5	Clear

*For the latest weather conditions contact Swissair.
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THE WEATHER

Forecast: Intermittent showers

	Yesterday's	Yesterday's	Today's
	Humidity	Min-Max	Max
Jerusalem	52	6-9	6
Golan	93	5-8	5
Nahariya	93	5-8	5
Safed	90	3-6	2
Haifa Port	80	12-	-
Tiberias	67	10-17	13
Nazareth	88	7-11	7
Afula	89	9-14	10
Shomron	58	7-10	7
Tel Aviv	47	13-16	13
B-G Airport	48	10-14	11
Jericho	34	12-21	16
Galilee	48	12-16	13
Beersheva	25	9-16	12
Eilat	33	14-23	20

Hadassah women here for jubilee

Jerusalem Post Reporter
Jerusalem's seven leading hotels are packed with 2,500 Hadassah women who are participating in the Zionist women's organization's 75th anniversary. Over 50 buses will transport the participants from place to place.

The week-long events of the Diamond Jubilee Mission will officially begin tomorrow at 8:30 p.m. with a festive opening ceremony at Binyanei Hauma in the presence of President Herzog and Mayor Kollek.

Yesterday, a new computer studies department was dedicated at Hadassah's community college in Jerusalem. The students are already using \$1.5 million worth of sophisticated computer equipment donated by Louis and Anne Abrons.

A special exhibition, "75 Years of Hadassah," opened last night at Beit Hatefutsoth in Tel Aviv.

The Israel Government Coins and Medals Corporation has issued a special medal to commemorate the anniversary. It is cast in both sterling silver and bronze.

On the obverse side of the medal is the number 75 and the words "75 years Hadassah 1912-1987." On the reverse side is the Hadassah emblem, with the words from Jeremiah that Hadassah took as its motto: "The healing of the daughter of my people."

(Continued from Page One)
deal to the security of Israel in the past, and sometimes such people make mistakes.

Neither the senior Israel Air Force officer, Aluf-Mishne Aviem Sela, nor Pollard's chief, Rafi Eitan, had been promoted "in their sphere of activity," he said.

For Eitan to be appointed head of Israel Chemicals, Shamir said, was in fact "a grave punishment" since this meant he was "no longer in the business of intelligence."

Shamir said that Israel had cooperated in the investigation in order to minimize the damage to its relations with the U.S.

The section of yesterday's cabinet session devoted to the Pollard affair was declared a meeting of the committee of security ministers. Hence ministers refused to talk about it. The inner cabinet meets on Wednesday for a fuller discussion. Shamir promised that he would report back to the full cabinet about the gist of Wednesday's proceedings.

Following the Cabinet session, Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev, who is a member of the Inner Cabinet, complained that he knew little beyond what was in the media, about the Pollard affair.

He said: "I suggest that the three ministers involved (Shamir, Peres and Rabin) mobilize a few more shoulders among their colleagues, to help carry the heavy burden, when a matter of such grave national importance is at stake. I hope I shall be given some information at the Inner Cabinet, so that I can contemplate ways of preventing such mishaps in the future."

HOME NEWS

Rebel dayanim back down on Shoshana Miller

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

In a meeting yesterday with the two chief rabbis, the dayanim (rabbinical court judges) who signed a petition against a ruling of the High Court of Justice in effect backed down from their position and apologized.

The dayanim, who had called on the Interior Ministry not to carry out the High Court ruling to register Reform convert Shoshana Miller as a Jew, had been threatened with possible prosecution for contempt of court after MK Yair Tzaban (Mapam) petitioned the High Court on the matter.

Attorney-General Yosef Harish asked Religious Affairs Minister Zevulun Hammer to take action; but Hammer's mild, conciliatory letter to the rabbinical court judges would not satisfy the High Court. Harish pointed out.

At least part of the impetus for the dayanim to modify their position came from Hammer, who is anxious to avoid an open confrontation between the rabbinical courts and the judiciary.

Not all the signatories of the petition were present at yesterday's meeting, which was described as a gathering of the rabbinical judges.

But Tzaban last night issued a statement describing the letter of the dayanim as "the very least" they could possibly say, and added that it did not even include an admission of the seriousness of their action. He said he would wait to hear the statements by Hammer and Harish to the High Court before considering any further action.

However, Rabbi Gedalya Axelrod, of Haifa, who allegedly initiated the petition, was there, as were representatives of all the other signatories.

In their retraction, which was formally a "letter of clarification" to Hammer, the dayanim explained that the petition had been intended as an "opinion of halachic principle, such as had been issued by halachic teachers of Israel over the generations."

The petition, the letter continued, "had not intended to interfere with, or harm, the rule of law."

The letter was signed by Rabbi Avraham Elmaliah, director of the rabbinical courts, and by Rabbi Shlomo Dibovski, president of the Tel Aviv Rabbinical Court.

Hammer is to pass the letter on to Harish in the hope that it will end the affair.

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The petition, the letter continued, "had not intended to interfere with, or harm, the rule of law."

The letter was signed by Rabbi Avraham Elmaliah, director of the rabbinical courts, and by Rabbi Shlomo Dibovski, president of the Tel Aviv Rabbinical Court.

Hammer is to pass the letter on to Harish in the hope that it will end the affair.



Miriam Eshkol, the widow of Israel's third prime minister, Levi Eshkol, is flanked by Foreign Minister Peres and Defence Minister Rabin at a memorial ceremony on Jerusalem's Mt. Herzl to mark the 18th anniversary of her husband's death. Also at the ceremony were Prime Minister Shamir, Knesset Speaker Shlomo Hillel, Ministers Moshe Shahal, Moshe Arens, Yigael Hurvitz and Ezer Weizman, and Supreme Court President Meir Shamgar. (Isaac Harari)

IN BRIEF

IMF team meets here

The four-man IMF team is currently winding up its annual visit and is expected to produce an interim report before it leaves on Wednesday.

The team of international economists, led by Frenchman Patrick de Fontenay, includes Hungarian-born Janus Somogyi, now a West German citizen, Briton Adam Bennett, and Elihu Kreiss, an Israeli with 15 years of IMF experience, mainly in South America. It has reportedly been impressed with the success of the government's economic policy over the last two years. But it has also expressed concern over a widening budget deficit.

Remember IDF fallen

"Israel will spare no effort to bring back for burial at home the bodies of the soldiers lost in all its battles," Defence Minister Rabin said yesterday.

Rabin was speaking at a memorial ceremony in Jerusalem for IDF fallen whose place of burial is not known.

Also attending the ceremony were President Herzog, Prime Minister Shamir, and Chief of General Staff Moshe Lewy. (Itim).

Driving fees go up

Fees for car licences and driving licences are to be raised as of April, causing delays in the mailing of renewal notices, the Transport Ministry announced yesterday.

The ministry will start sending out notices on March 15 to people whose licences expire in April, and the public is requested not to apply to the licensing bureau at this stage.

Golda Meir prizes

TEL AVIV (Itim). - Nazi-hunter Beate Klarsfeld and veteran settler Yehudit Shimoni of Kibbutz Geva were yesterday awarded Na'amat's Golda Meir prize at the Cameri Theatre here, in the presence of Vice Premier Peres.

The Germans cannot shake off their responsibility for the Holocaust "as a passing historical error," Klarsfeld said on receiving the prize. "It is Israel's right to demand that the Germans fight anti-Semitism and Nazism."

University strikes

TEL AVIV. - Hebrew University students will strike from 12:30 to 2 p.m. today to protest against the planned hike in tuition fees to between \$2,000 and \$4,000.

Tomorrow, classes at Tel Aviv University will end at noon and at other universities and colleges at 10 a.m. so that students can participate in the noon demonstration on the Tel Aviv campus. Hebrew University students will not participate in tomorrow's demonstration as they are to hold their own on Wednesday.

College closed

The Ramallah teachers' training college was ordered closed yesterday for a week after the second demonstration at the campus within the last six days, a military spokesman said.

The spokesman said IDF troops dispersed a gathering of women students.

Last Tuesday, students burned tires and threw stones at soldiers. In downtown Ramallah yesterday, an Israeli motorist was injured slightly when youths threw stones at his car, smashing its windshield.

LATE SPORT

Maccabi TA in final

Defending Israeli basketball champions Maccabi Tel Aviv clinched a spot in the final of the National Basketball League play-offs last night with a crushing 96-76 defeat of Elitzur Netanya at Yad Eliyahu.

In last night's other semi-final game in Haifa, Hapoel Haifa defeated Hapoel Tel Aviv 100-91 to force a third game to be played a week from Wednesday.

In the battle for fifth through eighth places, Hapoel Galil Elyon forced a third game in their series with Hapoel Holon with a 90-89 home victory.

Sales are booming

Aids scare revives faith in the condom

By SIMON LOUISON
For The Jerusalem Post

TEL AVIV. - Condom sales are booming as a result of the Aids scare which has belatedly hit this country.

An informal survey of Tel Aviv pharmacies shows most of them reporting sales increases of between 20 and 100 per cent in the past few months. Pharmacists attribute the surge to the increased attention being given to Aids by newspapers and, more recently, television.

The leading importer of condoms, Promedico Ltd, which estimates it has over 60 per cent of the market, says its sales have increased 50 per cent over the last year. Sales manager Gideon Kaplan credits the increase to two factors - increased sex education relating to intercourse and pregnancy, and greater public awareness of the dangers of Aids.

But the survey of pharmacists tends to contradict Kaplan's assertion that sex education is effective. Most report that the under-20s are seldom purchasers of condoms, and this group has not significantly increased its buying.

"I'm afraid they [the young] are not aware," says Joseph Shor, a downtown pharmacist. He adds that there has been no drop in sales

of other forms of contraception, such as IUDs or the pill, which indicates to him that the largest increase comes from the group that formerly shunned non-natural contraception methods.

According to Shor, more women are buying condoms than before. He estimates that they now make up around 20-30 per cent of the purchasers, compared with a much smaller number a year ago.

Most of the women are middle-class professionals under 35.

Pharmacist Yossi Foff confirms

See related story, page 4

that young people are not conspicuous purchasers. Foff believes that young people understand the dangers less and care less because "they are always optimists."

Yoram Rozenstein, the sales manager of Agic Commercial Agencies, another major importer of condoms, says that condoms tend to have a rather old-fashioned image in this country and that most buyers buy them for "special occasions" rather than regular use. His company reports a 30 per cent increase in sales, which he attributes mainly to the Aids scare.

Blood Bank finds 10 tainted samples

TEL AVIV (Itim). - Out of some 120,000 blood samples tested by Israeli hospitals and the Central Blood Bank last year, 10 were found to have Aids antibodies.

Health Ministry officials estimate that if the blood samples had not been screened, at least 30 people would have contracted the disease from blood transfusions.

The ministry has received a \$1 million grant from the Treasury - in addition to last year's special allocation of the same amount - to educate the public on the dangers of Aids. The ministry will use the

money to establish additional centres for early detection of the disease, to pay for radio and television announcements, and to distribute material to high-risk groups like homosexuals, drug addicts, prostitutes and hemophiliacs.

The ministry has assembled a group of physicians and sociologists to lecture throughout the country on how to avoid the disease.

Officials are exploring ways of making condoms more readily available to the public, such as selling them over the counter in chain-stores.

Body of man found in Judean Desert

By BRADLEY BURSTON
BEERSHEBA. - A partially decomposed body found yesterday in a crevice in the Judean Desert has been identified as that of Tzafir Cooper, 24, of Holon, a film student first reported missing two months ago.

Personal effects belonging to Cooper were found early yesterday by Kibbutz Ein Gedi member Eli Raz. Police and army search teams then located Cooper's remains, which were identified by a pathologist from the Institute for Forensic Medicine in Abu Kabir.

Cooper's case aroused widespread interest when his movements during the 24 hours prior to his disappearance were re-enacted on the TV programme *Crime Investigation*.

Cooper's friends said on the programme that the film student's work was strongly influenced by the movie *Paris, Texas*, which describes a man's return to his family after having disappeared for many years in the desert.

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Corfu commends security personnel for bravery

Transport Minister Haim Corfu on Friday presented awards of merit to security personnel who acted resourcefully to save lives.

Two women security inspectors at the Rafiah crossing who last February foiled an attempt to smuggle

explosives from Egypt, and the security officers who discovered last April's attempt to smuggle a bomb aboard an El Al jumbo jet at London's Heathrow Airport were among those who received the certificates. (Itim)

Egypt gets rundown on Shamir view of conference

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel has given Egypt a detailed explanation of Prime Minister Shamir's objections to an international conference on Middle East peace.

The director-general of the Prime Minister's Office, Yosef Ben-Aharon, met Egyptian Ambassador Mohammed Bassiouny yesterday and conveyed Shamir's position to him.

Ben-Aharon confirmed to the ambassador that after Shamir's return from Washington and Vice Premier Peres returned from Cairo, Shamir had sent a message also to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz explaining why he opposed the international conference idea.

Relatives identify 53 victims in ferry disaster

Recovery of 82 missing may take weeks

ZEEBRUGGE, Belgium (Reuters). — Dismay and relatives identified bodies from a capsized British car ferry yesterday while the ship's owners said recovery of all 82 people believed entombed in the hull could take weeks.

Sixteen divers resumed working in the keeled over hull of the ferry but, more than 24 hours after the last three known survivors were winched to safety, officials said there was little hope of finding anyone else alive.

Peter Ford, chairman of Townsend Thoresen, the owners of the ferry Herald of Free Enterprise, which keeled over with 543 mainly British passengers and crew after leaving Zeebrugge on Friday night, said some bodies might not be recovered for weeks.

He said no more survivors were expected to be found, adding: "It would be wholly wrong to hold out any hope for the relatives."

The identification of 53 bodies found so far from the 7,951-ton roll-on, roll-off ferry was carried out by tearful relatives in a sports hall turned into a temporary mortuary in Zeebrugge.

About half of the 408 people rescued have flown home to Britain, but injured survivors are scattered in several hospitals and others who escaped

unscathed are still in reception centres.

Most speculation on the cause of the disaster has focused on water flooding through the huge bow doors which are used as a ramp for cars and lorries driving on to the ferry.

Ford said: "We have no information about the cause. There are many, many theories being bandied around but we have been concentrating on helping the relatives."

But in Dover, the doomed ferry's destination, Paul Ovington, deputy director of public relations for Townsend Thoresen, said the company believed the doors were related to the accident.

"We have accepted that it is something to do with the doors," Ovington told reporters. "That is how the water rushed in because there is no other hole in the ship."

The ferry's captain, Dave Lewry, is in hospital suffering from shock and a punctured lung. A lawyer for the trade union of Britain's sea masters said he may not be fit to answer questions for weeks.

Divers concentrated on recovering more bodies yesterday from the ferry, which lay on its port side about three-quarters of a mile off Zeebrugge

harbour with its bow doors gaping open.

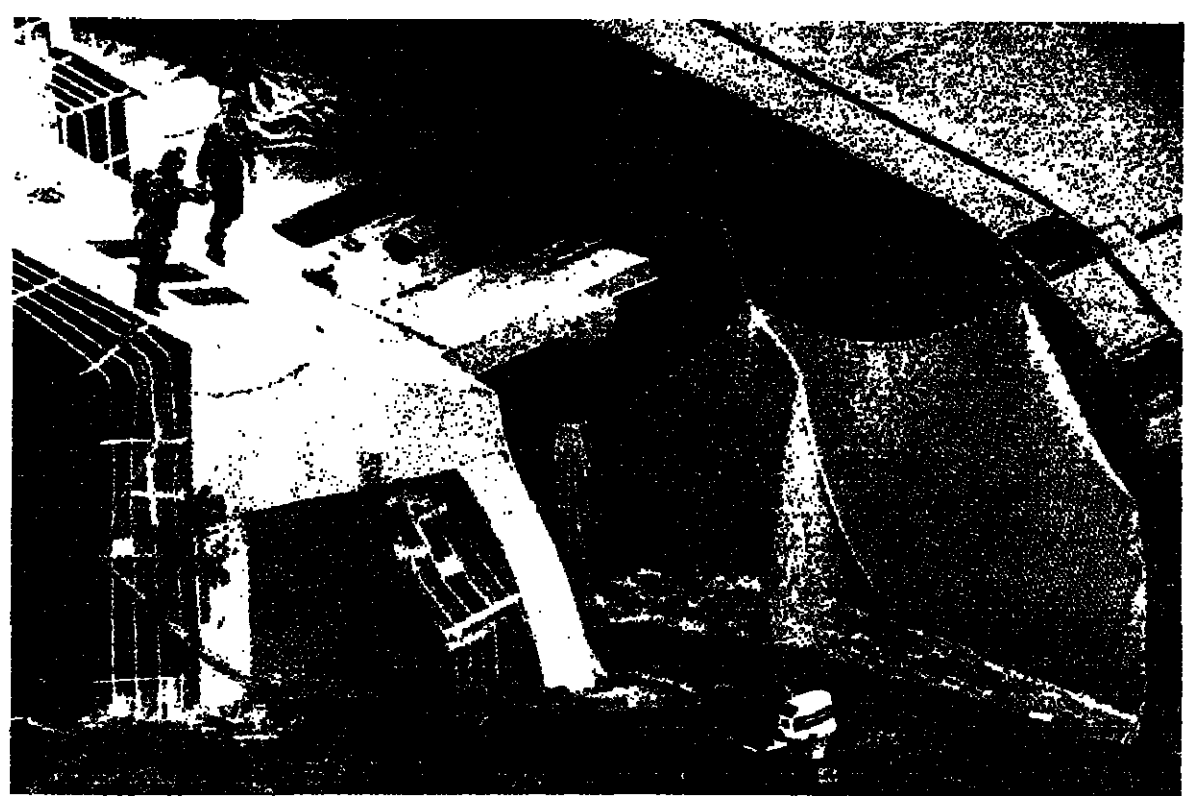
One of the first survivors to leave the temporary mortuary was Londoner George Lamy, who had just identified the bodies of his wife, his son-in-law and his grandson.

"Maybe my daughter is in hospital or somewhere. We just don't know," he said tearfully. Bob Warner, one of the Red Cross officials organizing visits of survivors and relatives to the mortuary, praised them for their courage.

Asked how those seeking lost ones were coping as they went through formalities in the town hall, the grey-haired official paused for 10 seconds. His eyes watered and he said: "The English are brave people. They are handling themselves with great self-discipline."

British Transport Secretary John Moore said he would make a statement to Parliament today setting out the form of a public inquiry into the disaster.

Anthony Preston, naval editor of the authoritative *Jane's Defence Weekly*, said that worries of this sort had arisen during the Falklands crisis in 1983 when the Ministry of Defence was considering chartering a roll-on, roll-off ferry to take troop reinforcements to the South Atlantic.



Frogmen yesterday attach a netting in front of the bow doors of the capsized British car ferry in order to prevent any dangerous chemicals that may have been in the ship's cargo from escaping. (Reuters telephoto)



Great-grandmother Annie Best, 85, (centre) married her dream man Lucas Botha, 26 in Pretoria on Saturday. The 59-year difference doesn't mean a thing to Annie: five years ago she married a 25-year-old man but had her marriage annulled three months later. Of her new husband she says, "When I saw him my heart fell at his feet." (Reuters)

New Greek Orthodox pope installed

ALEXANDRIA (Reuters). — The Greek Orthodox Church installed a new pope, Archbishop Parthenios III, at a ceremony here yesterday.

He succeeds Pope Nicholas who died last July. The enthronement was attended by 10 archbishops representing the church in Greece.

'Poindexter told Reagan twice of Contra funds'

WASHINGTON (AFP). — President Ronald Reagan last year was twice told by his National Security Adviser at the time, Vice-Admiral John Poindexter, that the profits of arms sales to Iran were diverted to Nicaragua's Contra rebels. *The Washington Post* reported yesterday.

The paper, quoting what it described as a well-placed legal source, said Poindexter, in informing the president, did not specifically tell him that such funding was illegal.

The source said the vice-admiral had said funding of the Contras was a "side benefit" of the covert deal with Iran, which the Tower Commission report of February 26 said was aimed at securing the release of American hostages in Lebanon.

The *Post* story contradicts the Tower panel's report, which said there was no evidence that the presi-



John Poindexter. (AFP)

dent had been told of funding for the Contras, and Reagan has always denied he had been informed of it.

The Senate select committee investigating the affair is soon to decide whether to offer Vice-Admiral Poindexter immunity from prosecution in return for his testimony. So far he has pleaded the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution, which allows him to refuse to testify if he risks incriminating himself.

A source close to the White House said the Administration believes that if the vice-admiral testifies, he will say he had direct or indirect authority from the president to fund the Contras, the *Post* said.

Two other key witnesses may be seen from judicial immunity — Lt. Col. Oliver North, the man said to have carried out arms sales and arranged funding for the Contras, and retired Gen. Richard Secord.

Hizbullah vows to keep Syria out of Beirut's Shi'ite zone

BEIRUT (AFP). — Lebanese pro-Iranian fundamentalists yesterday said they would refuse to allow Syrian troops to enter Beirut's Shi'ite southern suburbs.

"At the same time visiting Iranian parliamentarian Ayatollah Ali Akbar Khamenei promised his country's support to the pro-Iranian Hizbullah (Party of God), a statement issued by the party said.

One Hizbullah leader, Sheikh Abbas Musawi, described the deployment of Syrian troops, who arrived on February 22 to quell factional fighting in Moslem-dominated

West Beirut, as a "political project designed to combat Moslems, with the agreement of (Amin) Jemayel," the Lebanese president, correspondents said.

He was speaking in Tyre, south Lebanon, at a ceremony to commemorate the death of 23 Hizbullah members, killed by Syrian soldiers in West Beirut on February 24.

Sheikh Musawi said the security plan for West Beirut "cannot include the Shi'ite southern suburbs."

He also said his party would "categorically refuse" to allow deploy-

ment in southern Lebanon of the Lebanese army.

Earlier yesterday Lebanese president Amin Jemayel, who initially condemned the dispatch of Syrian troops, sent a message thanking Damascus for its help.

In the message, sent on the 24th anniversary of the Syrian Ba'ath Party's rise to power, President Jemayel said that Lebanon, "thanks to Syria's aid, is taking a great step towards emerging from its crisis and finding its security once again," the Syrian news agency Sana reported.

Pakistan risks aid to keep nuclear project

ISLAMABAD (Reuters). — The Pakistani government pledged yesterday to continue its controversial nuclear programme, even if it meant losing foreign aid.

"We shall neither be browbeaten, nor cajoled," Acting Foreign Minister Zain Noorani told parliament.

The government of President Mohammad Zia ul-Haq has repeatedly denied allegations from independent researchers and its regional rival, India, that it is building a

nuclear bomb. It says the research programme is entirely for energy purposes.

Noorani made his defiant statement as the U.S. Congress was considering a \$4.02 billion aid programme for Pakistan, which under U.S. law would be halted if the Moslem country were to build nuclear arms.

Pakistani officials have expressed fears that recent studies published in the U.S., and news reports quoting a top Pakistani nuclear scientist, might

lead Congress to suspend the aid. Pakistan had forgone foreign aid in 1979 in asserting its right to acquire nuclear technology.

"Pakistan's peaceful nuclear programme shall go on. No matter what difficulties we may have to face and what sacrifices we have to undergo," said Noorani.

Noorani said reports that the U.S. had asked Pakistan to stop the programme were incorrect. "No threat has been held out to us," he said.

Greece sets conditions for Voice of America agreement

ATHENS (Reuters). — Socialist Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu said yesterday Greece would not sign an agreement on operations of the Voice of America (VOA)

relay station in Greece unless Washington re-examined its policy towards Athens.

Papandreu accused the U.S. of favouring Turkey by giving it extra

military aid and said this contravened an accord on U.S. military bases in Greece in return for which Athens receives about \$500 million in credits.

Gaddafi may end feud with Arafat

By DAVID HOROVITZ
Jerusalem Post Reporter
LONDON. — Libya's Col. Muammar Gaddafi is to end his long-running feud with PLO leader Yasser Arafat, it was reported yesterday. Gaddafi is said to be trying to arrange Palestinian unification talks in Tripoli, so that Arafat can prepare for an international peace conference with fuller Palestinian backing.

Gaddafi, who has been a champion and sponsor of anti-Arafat Palestinian forces for the last five years, has now dropped his opposition to Arafat's PLO leadership and is ready to invite him to Tripoli, the *Sunday Times* reported, adding that the Libyan leader hopes to set up the unification conference in order to mediate between Arafat and Syria's President Hafez Assad.

Arafat is reportedly ready to strengthen his ties with Libya, and is hopeful that the PLO's offices in Tripoli might be reopened shortly.

Arab sources quoted by the paper attributed Gaddafi's shift to Syria's latest military intervention in Beirut, because he believes Assad went too far in backing the Amal siege of the Palestinian refugee camps and in sending in troops to suppress the fighting between leftists militia.

Gaddafi talked for hours with Arafat's deputy military commander, Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) during Republic Day celebrations in Libya last week, and then loaned Wazir his private plane for the flight home to PLO headquarters in Tunis.

Turks vow to teach Iraqi Kurds a lesson

ANKARA (Reuters). — Kurdish rebels, whose hideouts in Iraq were bombed by the Turkish air force last week, struck back by raiding a village in south-east Turkey and killing eight civilians, state radio said here yesterday.

Seven or eight guerrillas threw hand-grenades into two homes at Acikoy near the Syrian border Saturday night and sprayed the occupants with machinegun fire as they tried to flee, it quoted Interior Minister Yildirim Akbulut as saying.

It was the second serious attack by the rebels in less than a month. On February 22, guerrillas killed 14 civilians in the village of Tasdelen, 150km. to the east on the Iraqi border.

Turkey reacted last Wednesday to that raid by bombing hideouts it said were used by the rebels on the Iraqi side of the border. An unconfirmed report said more than 100 people were killed.

FOREIGN BRIEFS

U.S. plan to enhance Saudi air power

WASHINGTON (AP). — President Ronald Reagan plans to sell improvements for U.S.-supplied warplanes and other military equipment for more than \$400 million to Saudi Arabia, a Defence Department spokesman has said.

Congressional Foreign Affairs committees were unofficially notified of the planned sale last week. Unofficial appraisal is usually made 20 days before Congress receives official notice of a large military sale.

A senior U.S. official said last month that the Reagan administration was considering selling "electronic countermeasures" for F-5 and F-15 jets.

Two Lebanese face arms charges in Paris

PARIS (Reuters). — A Lebanese woman and her nephew have been charged with conspiracy and illegal possession of weapons following discovery of an arms cache in the cellar of a Paris flat, judicial sources said yesterday. The woman, 40-year-old Leila el Masri, was the tenant of the flat in the French capital's fashionable 16th district where police of the DST counter-espionage agency found 16 kilos of explosives, two submachine guns and a pistol three days ago. Her nephew Zaid Hachache was remanded in custody while el-Masri was released provisionally.

Experiment fails when U.S. rocket blows up

WASHINGTON (AP). — A small suborbital rocket carrying an experiment into the upper atmosphere exploded shortly after takeoff from a launch site in Alaska, U.S. space agency officials announced.

The mission failed on Saturday when a black Brandt X rocket blew up about 10 seconds after ignition of the second stage. The explosion came about 22 seconds after liftoff from a research range operated by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The 135-kg payload of the 12-metre rocket was intended to study particles and energy fields associated with the Aurora Borealis, or northern lights.

'Platoon' director wins Guild award

LOS ANGELES (AP). — Oliver Stone won the annual Directors Guild Award, traditionally a harbinger of the Academy Awards, on Saturday night for his direction of the brutal Vietnam war film *Platoon*.

Only three times has the winner of the Directors Guild Award failed to win the Oscar.

At the Guild's New York banquet, Academy Award winner Elia Kazan was awarded the group's highest honour, the D.W. Griffith Award, "for outstanding achievement and lifetime contribution to film." Kazan has won Oscars for his direction of *Gentleman's Agreement* and *On the Waterfront*.

Monkey runs amok after her baby killed

DACCA (Reuters). — A monkey whose new-born baby was stoned to death by a gang of boys, savaged nearly 70 people — mostly schoolchildren — at Narayanganj in the past week, police said yesterday.

Doctors at a hospital in the industrial town near Dhacca said they treated at least 50 people for bites. Residents said the demented mother also ransacked kitchens and stole clothes left out to dry.

Cosmonauts to grow crystals in space

MOSCOW (AP). — An unmanned rocket brought a crystal-growing machine to the Mir orbital platform where two cosmonauts on Friday began their second month in space, the Tass news agency said.

Tass quoted Soviet television as saying that specialists believe the crystallizer, named the Corund, can serve as the basis for creating an industrial shop in zero gravity.

Chad, African economy on minisummit agenda

CAIRO (AFP). — Seven African heads of state will meet here Wednesday to discuss the crisis in Chad and the continent's economic crisis. Egyptian Foreign Minister Boutros Ghali said yesterday.

Ghali, in an interview with the French-language daily *Le Journal d'Egypte*, said the presidents of Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Zaire and Zambia would meet at a conference of the coordination bureau of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

Saudi king to visit Algeria this week

ALGIERS (Reuters). — King Fahd of Saudi Arabia will start an official visit to Algeria on Wednesday, his first to the North African socialist country since ascending the throne. Algeria's official news agency APS said yesterday. Diplomats said the monarch is expected to meet with president Chadli Benjedid and discuss the international oil situation, the Middle East and prospects for an Arab summit.

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Oldest peace group behind Sweden-Iran arms charges

STOCKHOLM (Reuters). — A band of peace activists with the distinctive label of being the world's oldest peace campaigning group are behind the unfolding saga of suspected Swedish arms smuggling to Iran.

The Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society (Spas) has for three years been researching the export records of Bofors, the country's biggest arms maker. It believes it has unearthed enough to make a smuggling charge stick.

Spas was founded in 1883 by Klas Arnoldson, a Swedish member of parliament with a vision of peace on earth.

In its early years, Spas played a major role in preventing war between Sweden and Norway when the two countries, joined in a union the Norwegians wanted to break, were negotiating terms for independence.

Another of its successes was in the mid-1950s when neutral Sweden was considering its own nuclear deterrent. The group was active in mobilizing popular opinion against the idea.

Nowadays, the society is the country's biggest peace organization, with up to 20,000 members according to Spas chairman Lars Angstrom.

It operates from a small and untidy office hidden in a massive block of flats in a southern Stockholm suburb. Angstrom says, "The complexion of the group has changed in recent years, from an older profile to a younger and much more active membership."

Himself a representative of the

new, young wave of activists. Angstrom is not paid by the society.

He said the Spas research into suspected arms exports by Bofors used sources available to the public from which they were able to build up their catalogues of evidence.

The Spas investigation started in earnest three years ago when a dis-

illusioned Bofors engineer leaked company papers that the society asserts gave details of illegal exports. Bofors is a company in the empire founded by Swedish industrialist and inventor of dynamite Alfred Nobel, who established the prizes bearing his name in the will he left after his death in 1895.

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Druse send their children to pro-Syria kindergartens

The Golan's young Syrians

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

MAJDAL SHAMS. — Increasing numbers of Golan Heights Druse are sending their children to private pro-Syrian kindergartens, sources in the villages told The Jerusalem Post.

The youngsters are reportedly taught the Syrian national anthem, which they sing at the end of each session. There have also been reports of the Syrian flag being unfurled.

The sources said that over 150 youngsters attend three private kindergartens — two in Majdal Shams and one in the nearby village of Mas'ada — which are apparently funded by parents. There have been rumours of "outside" sponsorship, although the sources said they could not confirm this.

Children wear red uniforms and transportation is provided to ferry the youngsters to and from classes. Doctors make regular medical inspections.

The sources said the private kindergartens, opened over a year ago, were not subject to any form of educational supervision. No checks were made to ascertain whether the teachers and staff were qualified to

look after young children. Even so, the popularity of the kindergartens is growing.

"Last summer the kindergartens organized summer camps which were highly successful," said one Golan Druse, who asked to remain anonymous.

"It is very difficult for the moderates among us to persuade parents not to send their youngsters to these kindergartens, especially in view of the services that are provided," he said. "If we could offer suitable alternatives then I'm sure the majority of parents would prefer to send their children to kindergartens that are recognized and supported by the Education Ministry."

He cited the example of the Bukata local council which recently opened its own kindergarten with the support of government agencies and Na'amat. "There was a private kindergarten in the village, but it closed a month ago after parents transferred their children to the council kindergarten," he said.

He noted, however, that youngsters aged four and under were not the only ones being indoctrinated with pro-Syrian and anti-Israeli

views. The buildings in which the kindergarten classes are held also double as youth clubs and community centres.

"Video films and lectures featuring Syrian propaganda are aimed primarily at high-school pupils who come to these buildings," said the Druse resident.

Moderate and pro-Israeli residents have complained to the authorities about the activities at the kindergartens and the use to which the clubs are put, and have called for assistance to provide alternative facilities for the citizens of the region, but to little avail.

"The authorities don't seem to be very interested, otherwise they would help us. Providing better facilities and services would encourage the residents to think better of Israel and counter the accusations made by pro-Syrian factions," the resident added.

Israeli officials, however, say they are satisfied with the success of the kindergarten project in Bukata. One said they would like to see more aid given to the Golan Druse, but their hands were tied by financial restrictions.

Health clinics expect influx of test candidates

TV show arouses anxiety about Aids

By JOHANA YERIEL
Doctors at Aids clinics throughout the country are bracing themselves for an influx of people anxious to be tested for antibodies to the Aids virus.

Subsequent to Israel Television's *Second Look* programme last Tuesday evening, the seven Health Ministry clinics received "an avalanche" of phone calls from worried men — and a few women.

"They began to ring us the same night — there was only a laboratory technician on duty in the hospital — and they went on calling throughout the following two days. We are four doctors working in the clinic here, and we couldn't cope with all the calls — there were over 150," one of the clinic doctors said yesterday.

"They wanted to know where they could be checked, what the symptoms were, whether their identity could remain a secret, whether the fact that they had had intercourse with a homosexual or a prostitute made it necessary to be tested..."

The clinics' medical staff now have to deal with all those who come in to be tested. In most cases, the clinics function only a few hours a week, and with so many people wanting to be tested at once, "we'll be taking blood non-stop," the doctor said.

It takes about two weeks to get a test result, and, if the result is positive (which means the person has been in contact sometime, some place, with someone carrying the Aids virus), then he must be seen again personally by the clinic staff. They have to explain to him how to make changes in his sexual conduct, what "safe sex" is, and what the risks are to his sexual partners. If the man is married or has a girlfriend, there are also risks to her, and to the baby, if she becomes pregnant.

Medical experts throughout the world are now recommending the use of condoms in all cases of sexual intercourse, and also for all men who have more than one regular partner (homosexual or heterosexual).

The anticipated influx of people to the clinics means that within a few weeks, the Health Ministry will have a clearer picture of the epidemiology of Aids in Israel. Until the TV programme was shown, very few people had availed themselves of the services of the seven testing centres throughout the country, which were inaugurated with great ministry fanfare in April 1986. Little has been heard from them since. "On a normal day, we see from five to eight people for testing. This

week, we're expecting about 100," the clinic doctor said yesterday.

Meanwhile, a doctor at Hadassah Hospital, Ein Kerem, warned that sexual encounters abroad put homosexuals at far greater risk of being infected with the Aids virus antibodies than having sex with an Israeli homosexual. Research conducted by Dr. Shlomo Maayan and Dr. Sarah Boger-Goren showed that the likelihood of getting infected by the antibodies was significantly higher through sexual intercourse abroad. The Hadassah doctors tested two groups of homosexuals. In the first group, one man who had had sex only in Israel was infected. In the second group, nine men who had slept with partners abroad were infected with the antibodies.

Testing positive to the Aids antibodies means that one is infected — and thus infectious to others. It does not necessarily mean that the person will develop full-scale Aids, although doctors are growing more concerned daily with the rising statistics for carriers who are actually becoming ill with Aids, which in most cases is fatal.

Israel to date has had 34 officially reported cases of Aids, 23 of them Israelis. Nineteen of the 23 have died.

Helped advance Jewish-Arab coexistence

Writer Atallah Mansour honoured

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Veteran Arab journalist and writer Atallah Mansour was honoured last night for his significant contribution towards Jewish-Arab co-existence.

He was presented with the Israel Inter-Faith Association's prize, named after the late Gabriel Stern, at a ceremony at Kibbutz Givat Haviva.

The prize is awarded annually by the association in conjunction with the Institute for Arabic Studies at Givat Haviva and the Martin Buber Centre at the Hebrew University.

Stern was a political correspondent of *Mamam's Al-Hamishmar* for many years. He and the late Martin Buber were founding members of Ehud (unity), an organization that promoted closer ties between Arabs and Jews. The association was particularly active during the 1950s.

Mansour has been *Ha'aretz's* Galilee correspondent since 1958, and has his own weekly column devoted to Arab affairs and Jewish-Arab relations.

He is also one of the founding editors of the independent Arabic



Atallah Mansour. (Babson)

weekly *As-Sennara*, based in Nazareth.

Prior to the launching of *As-Sennara* four years ago, Mansour wrote for numerous foreign publications, including the London-based *Jewish Chronicle*.

In the course of his work, Mansour said, he had always tried to be unbiased, presenting the facts, no matter how unpleasant they might have been to him personally.

He stressed that he did not regard himself as a crusader for the Arab

cause. "I have always tried to report the facts while explaining certain problems and situations, where possible."

Mansour has also written three books, two romances and an autobiography entitled *Waiting for Dawn*. The books have been published in Arabic, Hebrew and English. He has also written several short stories and essays which have been published in Russia, Germany, Italy, France and America.

A Christian who was born in the Galilee Arab village of Jish, Mansour moved with his family to Nazareth in 1958 and, apart from a four-year stint as *Ha'aretz's* correspondent in the West Bank and two years' study at Oxford University, he has been a resident of the mixed Moslem-Christian city for most of his life.

Mansour views present relations between Jews and Arabs with a mixture of concern and optimism.

"The situation is as sad today as it was yesterday. The symptoms of racism have imposed themselves on everybody, making it more urgent than ever to deal with the issue of Jewish-Arab co-existence," he said.



Haifa Mayor Arye Gurel (right) takes on Israeli heavyweight Indian-wrestling champion Mickey Sharoni at yesterday's opening of the national Indian-wrestling competition for men and women at the Green Man Club in Haifa. (Paul Melting, Israel)

Shultz's chance to test Moscow on human rights

ANALYSIS

ROBERT ROSENBERG

Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev's proclamations about Soviet reforms — including the human rights issues — could be put to the test in little more than a month, when U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz goes to Moscow to discuss nuclear arms reductions.

But the combination of President Ronald Reagan's political weakness after Iran, and the lack of consensus among those involved in Soviet Jewish emigration efforts, could result in a missed opportunity.

The linkage of the arms talks and human rights issue has been part and parcel of the U.S.-Soviet relationship since the Helsinki Agreement.

The Soviet Jewish emigration movement has always been uncomfortable about the linkage, arguing that the human rights of freedom of movement and family reunification are inalienable.

But said one Soviet Jewish source: "There are inalienable rights and there is pragmatism, and pragmatism says that if you're bargaining about arms there's an opportunity to bargain about emigration."

After the Reykjavik summit, which ended without an arms control agreement, Yuri Dubinin, the Soviet ambassador to the U.S., said that without a resolution of the arms control question there could be no real progress on human rights. He

But now there is concern among emigration activists that Reagan, weakened by Iran, will not be interested in a linkage strong enough to interfere with an arms control agreement, which has eluded him since taking office seven years ago.

As it is, the Kremlin's sudden agreement last week to discuss mid-range missiles outside of the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) context can be viewed as a Soviet concession to Washington: it was the Soviet Union's insistence on scrapping SDI that has held up the progress on arms control negotiations till now.

Furthermore, say Jewish emigration activists, it will be difficult for

American Jewry to oppose the ratification of an arms control treaty in the Senate, if Reagan makes it clear to the American public that the agreement — which has yet to be reached — is in America's interests.

The disagreements are myriad among those involved in promoting Soviet Jewish emigration, and seeking to improve Israel's relations with the USSR.

The Israeli government, which is seeking a cancellation of the refugee status for Soviet Jews, will likely ask Shultz to raise the question of direct flights from the Soviet Union to Israel.

The semi-official Public Council for Soviet Jewry will probably present Shultz with a catalogue of some 11,800 names of known refuseniks, for Shultz to present his Kremlin interlocutors.

But the Soviet Jewish Information Centre will argue that no list should be presented, for any list offers the Kremlin the opportunity to release only the people on the list.

Indeed, among many of the various emigration groups, there is a growing fear that the Kremlin might allow a sudden exodus of a large number of Soviet Jews, as part of a deal involving arms control or economic benefits, and then close the emigration doors. The Shultz visit could provide the Kremlin with an opportunity for such a public relations gesture, say both official and unofficial sources here.

A further complication for Israel is the Kremlin's recently reiterated suggestion for an international peace conference, and the Likud-Labour dispute over such a conference.

Just as Moscow has strongly linked arms control with human rights, so does it see improved relations between Moscow and Jerusalem linked with Soviet participation in the Middle East peace process.

Rafi Levy witness changes his story

A witness in the trial of former Jerusalem district representative Rafi Levy was declared hostile in the Jerusalem District Court on Friday after contradicting testimony he had given to the police.

Simon Maman Perez, owner of the Har Zion Hotel, had told police

that in return for Levy's speeding up the approval of a plan to build a swimming pool at the hotel, he had purchased paintings by Levy's son for \$2,400. But in court he said there was no connection between purchasing the paintings and getting permission for the pool. (Iam)

Lawyers go to the polls

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Rubin, who has been a lawyer for 24 years, lectures at the Hebrew University and frequently appears in criminal trials.

There has been a "deafening silence" from the Bar about major public issues, says Rubin. "Those who head it now are political functionaries, and they are afraid of treading on somebody's toes."

Rubin is referring to Berger's membership in the Herut Party Central Committee and his current national unity government-style coalition of lists associated with the Likud, Labour and the religious parties. He cites as an example the Bar's silence on the Shin Bet case, referring to the ordeal of Tal-Aluf Yitzhak Mordechai, who was wrongly accused of killing the two

terrorists who hijacked Bus 300 as a latter-day "Dreyfus trial." Kling, 53, has been active in Bar affairs for 14 years. He lectures at both Bar-Ilan and Tel Aviv Universities and is involved mainly in civil litigation. "My friend Rubin has done nothing for four years as head of the Jerusalem Bar," he says. Still, he agrees with Rubin that the Bar has been silent on major public issues.

Kling, who describes his political views as "centrist, somewhere between Labour and Likud," says that in his current position as deputy head of the Bar, he has not been in a position to speak out or to change the Bar's agenda. That's why he decided to seek the top post, he says.

Berger, 65, spent six years in British prison camps in Kenya and Eritrea as a member of the IZL underground. He says his opponents are "misleading the public." He cites numerous Bar debates on the Shin Bet affair and says that the Bar couldn't speak out on the presidential pardons for the Shin Bet executives "because there was a majority in the Supreme Court" which ruled that the pardons were valid.

Kling and Rubin describe themselves as apolitical. Berger discounts their claim, advising voters to "check and see who exactly is behind them." None of the three is considered among the top-flight lawyers in the country.

The heated campaign of the past few days may send more lawyers than usual to the ballot box. The election organizers hope that the voters won't be deterred by the coloured slips.

TODAY'S ENTERTAINMENT

TELEVISION

EDUCATIONAL TV
8.00 Teletext 8.03 Keep Fit 8.15 School Broadcasts 14.00 Teletext 14.03 Keep Fit 14.15 Making Magic 14.40 Surprises
15.10 Family Problems 15.55 Keep Fit 16.05 Five Mile Creek (part 17) 17.00 A New Evening — live magazine

ISRAELI TV
CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES
17.30 Animated Film
18.00 Songs
ARABIC-LANGUAGE PROGRAMMES
18.30 News roundup
18.32 Programme Trailer
18.35 Sports
18.30 News
HEBREW PROGRAMMES resume at 20.00 with a news roundup
20.02 That's Incredible
20.30 Beauty Spot — tips on hair and trips
21.00 Mabat Newsline
21.30 Three Up, Two Down — BBC comedy series, starring Angela Thorne, Michael Elphick, Lisette Anthony and Ray Burdis
22.00 This is the Time
22.50 Spenser: For Hire — American suspense series, starring Robert Urich and Avery Brooks
23.35 News
JORDAN TV (unofficial)
17.30 Cartoons 18.00 French Hour 19.30 News in Hebrew
20.00 News in Arabic 20.30 Executive Screen 21.10 To be announced 22.00 News in English 22.30 Specials

MIDDLE EAST TV
13.30 Another Life 14.00 700 Club 14.30 Shape-Up 15.00 Afternoon Movie: Boy on a Dolphin 17.00 Super Bowl 17.30 Muppets 18.00 Happy Days 18.30 Laverne & Shirley 19.00 News 20.00 Magnum P.I. 21.00 Movie: Lions for Breakfast 22.00 700 Club

RADIO
VOICE OF MUSIC
7.00 Haydn: Symphony No. 75 (Philharmonia Hungarica/Dorati); Weber: Piano Concerto No. 2; Beethoven: Symphony No. 3, "Eroica" 9.00 Dvorak: Serenade Op. 44; Martinu: Rhapsody — Concerto for Violin and Orchestra; Brahms: Piano Quintet Op. 34 (Seltzman, Tel Aviv Quartet); Grieg: Peer Gynt (St. Martin-in-Arms); Stravinsky: Violin Concerto (Perelman, Boston/Oswald); Bernstein: Divertimento for Orchestra 12.00 Bach: Sonata for Violin; Mozart: Duo for Violin and Violoncello; Quilter: Wind Instruments 12.05 Mendelssohn: Schubert: Symphony No. 2; Mozart: Concerto No. 1 for Horn and Orchestra; Haydn: Symphony No. 87 15.00 Music Appreciation 16.00 From the World's Concert Halls — C.F.E. Bach: Double Concerto for 2 Harpsichords and Orchestra;

W.F. Bach: Sonata for 2 Harpsichords, Double Concerto for 2 Harpsichords and Orchestra; Bach: Aria from Suite No. 3 18.00 Emphasis on the Performance 19.00 Wind Instrument Orchestra 20.30 From the World's Concert Halls — Czech Philharmonic Orchestra under Neumann — Liszt: Symphonie Poem; Weber: Piano Concerto No. 1, "Invitation to the Dance" (Preger) 22.30 "Then and Again" 23.00 Liszt: Années de Pelerinage

RADIO 1st
6.02 Programmes for Qim 7.30 Programme in Easy Hebrew 8.05 Compass — with Benny Harel 9.05 Information for Listeners 10.05 Morning Pearls 11.10 School Broadcasts 11.30 Followings 12.05 Mid-East Medley 13.00 News in English 13.30 News in French 14.00 Children's programme 15.30 Education for all 16.05 A Place in the Middle 17.30 Everyman's University 18.05 Jewish Traditions 18.50 Bible Reading 19.05 Reflections on the Portion of the Week 19.30 Programmes for Qim 22.05 Every Man has a Star — with astrologist Nan Pecker

RADIO 2nd
6.12 Gymnastics 6.30 Editorial Review 6.53 Green Light — drivers' corner 7.00 This Morning — news magazine 8.05 Making an Issue 8.05 House Call — with Rivka Michaeli 9.05 All Shades of the Network 11.30 Safe Journey 12.10 O.K. on Two 13.00 Midday — news commentary, music, 14.00 Humour 15.05 Magic Moments 16.05 Songs and Homework 17.05 Economics Magazine 18.05 Free Period — education magazine 18.45 Today in Sport 19.05 Today — radio newsreel 19.35 Law and Justice Magazine 20.05 Contorial Hit Parade 22.05 Jazz Corner 23.05 Night Games

ARMY RADIO
6.05 University on the Air 6.30 Open Your Eyes — songs, information 7.07 "707" — with Alex Arady 8.00 Good Morning Israel 9.05 In the Morning — with Eli Yisraeli 10.05 Coffee Break 11.05 Right Now with Rafi Rashaf 12.05 Daily Meeting — with Orly Yaniv 13.05 What's Doing — with Eric Tal 16.05 Four in the Afternoon 17.00 Evening Newsreel 18.05 Soldiers' Complaints 19.05 Hebrew songs 20.05 Classical Music Magazine 21.00 Mabat — TV newsreel 21.30 University on the Air 22.05 Popular songs 23.05 The 24th Hour 00.05 Night Birds — songs, chat

DAILY ENGLISH BROADCASTS — ISRAELI RADIO
on 576 and 1170 kilohertz
07.00-7.15 News and Press Review
12.00-12.10 News followed by:
SUNDAY — "This Land" travel magazine
MONDAY — "Mainstream" consumer and community affairs
TUESDAY — "Israel Mosaic" weekly magazine
WEDNESDAY — "Spectrum" science and technology
THURSDAY — "Studio Three" arts magazine.
FRIDAY — "Thank Goodness It's Friday"
SATURDAY — "Spotlight" people and issues in the news

CINEMA

JERUSALEM
Alliance Francaise: Le Cite d'Indicible
8.30; *Belt Agony*: The Way We Were 8.30; *Sans Toit ni Loi*: Life of Brian 9.00; *Cherchez les Femmes*: Meet John Doe 7.30; *Eden*: The Contemporary 9 (small hall); *Frantz* 9.30; *Eden*: The Big Gag (Candid Camera) 4.30, 7, 9; *Eden*: Firewalker 4.30, 7, 9; *Habibi*: Orion Belt 5.15, 7.15, 9.15; *Jerusalem*: Theaters: The Fly 7.45, 9.15; *Kfir*: Platoon 4.30, 7, 9.15; *Mitchell*: The Fly 7.9; *Orion*: The Color of Money 4.15, 6.45, 9.15; *Orion*: Crocodile Dundee 4.30, 7, 9; *Orion*: The American Werewolf in London 7, 9; *Orion*: 9½ Weeks 11.15 p.m.; *Orion*: The Killing Fields 6.30, 9; *A Fine Mess* 4.30; *Admiral* 11.15 p.m.; *Orion*: Or 5: Redhead Spy 4.30, 7, 9; *Orion*: Under the Doctor 4.30, 7, 9; *Orion*: Mosquito Coast 4.30, 7, 9.15; *Seminar*: My Beautiful Laundrette 7, 9.15.

TEL AVIV
Bak Lelania: Slaughter 11.15 p.m.; *Bak Yehuda*: The Big Gag 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; *Chen*: The Color of Money 4.45, 7.15, 9.45; *Chen*: Joshua Then and Now 7.25, 9.45; *Chen*: 3: Malcolm 5, 7.30, 9.40; *Chen*: 4: Blue Velvet 11, 2.35, 5, 7.30, 9.40; *Chen*: Ruthless People 11, 2.5, 7.30, 9.45; *Cinema One*: Hannah and her Sisters 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; *Cinema Two*: Bouda 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; *Deikel*: Crocodile Dundee 7.15, 9.30; *Disanoff*: The Mission 11, 1.30, 4.45, 7.15, 9.30; *Disanoff*: The Decline of the American Empire 11, 1.30, 4.45, 7.15, 9.30; *Disanoff*: A Room With a View 11, 1.30, 4.45; *Mona Lisa* 7.15, 9.40; *Drive-In*: Hell Camp 7.30, 9.30; *Eden*: The Fly 5, 7.15, 9.40; *Get*: Jump! Jack Flash 5, 7.15, 9.40; *Hekolose*: ZOA House: Ginger and Fred 4.30, 7.15, 9.30 (exc. Wed.); *Mod*: Hell Camp 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; *Israel*: Cinema-theatre: Video, The Beatles (B) 7; *Video*, Pop Music 9.30; *Law*: The Mosquito Coast 2, 5, 7.15, 9.40; *Law*: Summer 2, 5, 7.40, 9.40; *Law*: 3: Choose Me 2, 5, 9.40; *Law*: 4: Orion Belt 2, 5, 7.40, 9.40; *Limer*: Hamehushah: Peggy Sue Got Married 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; *Wieder*: 2: Maslin: Back to School 4.30, 7.30, 9.30; *New Gardens*: Violets are Blue 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; *Only*: Closed for renovations: Paris: Throne of Blood 12, 2, 4, 7.15, 9.30; *Pear*: Deadly Game 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; *Shapira*: Platoon 4.15, 7, 9.30; *Strain*: My Third Problem 5, 7.30, 9.40; *Tamuz*: Supergirl 7.30, 9.40; *Telnet*: Round Midnight 4.30, 7, 9.15; *Tel Aviv*: Firewalker 4.30, 7.15,

WHAT'S ON

Notices in this feature are charged at NIS 8.15 per line, including VAT. Insertion every day of the month costs NIS 163.30 per line, including VAT, per month.

JERUSALEM

Museums

ISRAELI MUSEUM New Exhibitions: Felix Nussbaum (1894-1944), artist who perished in Holocaust (4 "From Dusk to Dawn") Meet an Israeli Artist, David Gerstein (opens 10.3 at 4.30) Artists Quoting Artists (opens 10.3 at 4.30) Continuing Exhibitions: Tamara Rikman: The Bewitched Shore, tempera and lacquer paintings of Givat-Alva-Jaffa (4 Yehoshua Street, comprehensive show of oils, 1940's to present) New York Now: Six New Generation New York City Artists (4 Animals in Ancient Art (Rockefeller) 4 Ancient Glass Exhibit (Bethlehem Embroidery, dresses and costume parts) Flowers, Fruit and Trees, photographs by Shai Givori (until 15.3) Illustrations in Modelling Clay, book illustrating by Ronny Oni of Islamic Art (Paley Centre, opp. Rockefeller) 4 Permanent exhibitions of Archaeology, Judaica and Ethnic Art.

VISITING HOURS: Main Museum 10.5-4.11; Guided tour of Museum in English: 3; Guided tour of Archaeology galleries in English.

L.A. MAYER MUSEUM FOR ISLAMIC ART Visiting hours: Sun-Thurs, 10-11.30; Fri, closed. Sat, and holiday eve, 10-11. 2 Hapalmah St., Tel. 6612972. Bus No. 15.

Conducted Tours

HADASSAH — Tourism Dept. The Tourism Center will be closed tomorrow, Tue, March 10 on the occasion of Hadassah's 75th Jubilee Celebration.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY English tours daily Sunday through Thursday: 1. Mount Scopus, 11 a.m. from the Brodman Reception Centre, Administration Building, Buses 9, 28, 46, 28 & 23 to the first underground stop 2. Givat Ram Campus, 9 & 11 a.m. from the Sherman Building, Buses 9, 28, & 24. Tel. 682819.

AMIT WOMEN (Formerly American Mizrahi Women). Free Morning Tours — 5 Alkalei Street, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-682222.

TEL AVIV

Museums
TEL AVIV MUSEUM New Exhibitions: Alexander Archipenko, A Centennial Tribute, 50 sculptures (opens 12.3 at 8 p.m.) 4 Continuing Exhibitions: Strikings (closes 16.30) Oscar Kokoschka, 1888-1980. Selection of Prints and Albums. Trends in Geometric Abstract Art (4 Edward Munch, prints: Death, Love and Anxiety) 4 VISITING HOURS: Sun-Thurs, 10-2, 5-9. Sat. 11-2, 7-10; Fri, closed. Helena Rubinstein Pavilion: Exhibition: David Hockney Photographs (closes 16.3). Visiting Hours: Sun-Thurs, 10-2; 5-9. Sat. 11-2; 7-10. Fri, closed.

Conducted Tours

AMIT WOMEN (Formerly American Mizrahi Women). Free Morning Tours — Tel Aviv, Tel. 220187, 233154.

WIZO: To visit our projects call Tel Aviv, 232936; Jerusalem, 220060; Haifa, 388817.

OWT: To visit our technological High Schools call Jerusalem 633141; Tel Aviv 386177; 233221, 240629; Netanya 35744.

PIONEER WOMEN — NAA'AMAT Morning tours. Tel Aviv, 210781; Jerusalem 244876.

WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA, dial 04-640640.

HAIFA

Museums
HAIFA MUSEUM 26 Shabbat Levy St. Tel. 04-523255. Exhibitions: Modern Art: Facing the Mirror — The Israeli Caricature. Now. Ancient Art — Jewish coin of the Second Temple Period, Egyptian textiles, terracotta figurines. Music & Ethnology: world paper cuts. Open: Sun-Thurs, & Sat. 10-1; Tues, Thurs, & Sat. also 6-8. Ticket also admits to National Museum, Pre-historic and Japanese Museums.

Conducted Tours

AMIT WOMEN (Formerly American Mizrahi Women). Free Morning Tours — 5 Alkalei Street, Jerusalem. Tel. 02-682222.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY English tours daily Sunday through Thursday: 1. Mount

The Remaking Of a Presidency

Reagan Strives to Dispel Image of Hands-Off Leader Who Lost Touch

By STEVEN V. ROBERTS

WASHINGTON The stakes were high as President Reagan, the old master of television oratory, addressed the nation from the Oval Office last week. The Tower Commission report on the Iran-contra affair had not dealt with him kindly; he was a "President who didn't do his job," as one member, Edmund S. Muskie, put it. The President's approval rating had dwindled to its lowest point in four years, and two-thirds of those questioned by a New York Times/CBS News poll said others, not the 76-year-old President, were in charge.

But Mr. Reagan demonstrated that it was probably too early to write his political obituary. In a direct and forceful speech, he accepted "full responsibility" for a policy that had "deteriorated," as he put it, into an arms-for-hostages deal. "As personally distasteful as I find secret bank accounts and diverted funds," he added, "well, as the Navy would say, this happened on my watch."

A CBS News poll the next day showed a nine-point jump in the President's approval rating.

But the speech was clearly no magic cure-all for the ills of the White House. A majority of those surveyed still insisted that Mr. Reagan would remain a "handicapped President," that he had not told all he knew and that he should have apologized more fully.

Bob Dole of Kansas, the Senate Republican leader, summed up the somewhat blurred reaction: "This is the first big step on the comeback trail, but there is still a long way to go."

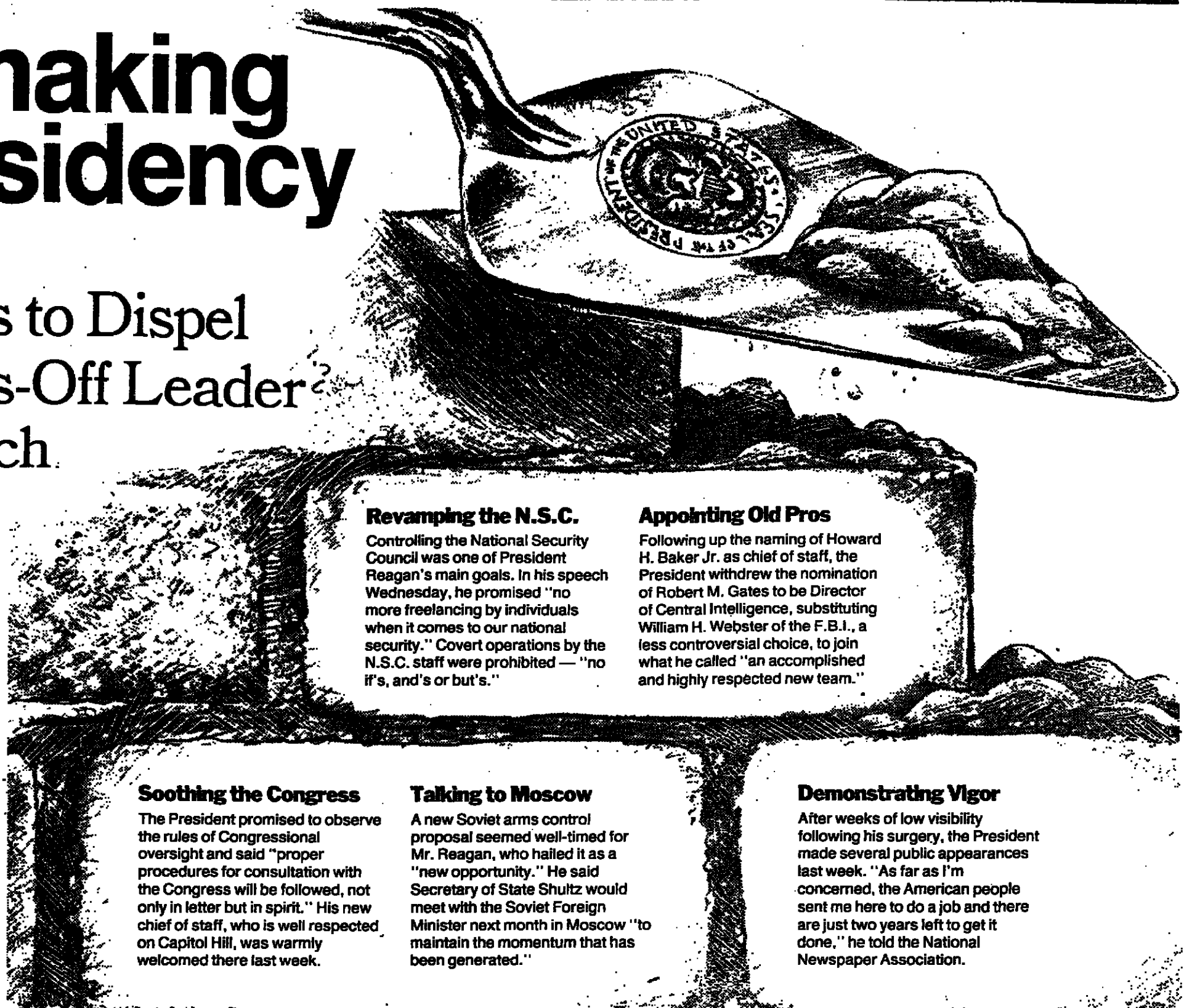
Part of the problem stemmed from what Mr. Reagan did not say in his 13-minute appearance. He did not say that he, personally, had made mistakes, and he suggested that subordinates bore much of the blame.

And while he accepted the Tower board findings, he clearly disagreed with one of its critical conclusions: that the Iran arms dealings should never have happened. The President stuck to his belief that the goals were worthy and only the execution went awry.

Moreover, he still has to deal with a Congress dominated by Democrats who won the November elections in the face of concerted campaigning by the President for Republican candidates. And the Democrats are determined to exploit his weakened position as the 1988 campaign approaches.

"We have no fear of him anymore," said an aide to House Democratic leaders. "We know we won the elections before all this happened. Ronald Reagan went all over the country, he really went after us, he had all the money in the world, and we remember that. There's no way Ronald Reagan will ever be as popular again."

The Democrats' strategy is to raise expectations about the President by challenging him to deal with unpopular issues, such as the budget deficit. In line with that strategy, Representative Jim Wright of Texas, the Speaker of the House, reiterated his proposal last week for a tax increase as part of any deficit-reduction package, and other Democrats insisted that the President's



Revamping the N.S.C.

Controlling the National Security Council was one of President Reagan's main goals. In his speech Wednesday, he promised "no more freeloading by individuals when it comes to our national security." Covert operations by the N.S.C. staff were prohibited — "no if's, and's or but's."

Appointing Old Pros

Following up the naming of Howard H. Baker Jr. as chief of staff, the President withdrew the nomination of Robert M. Gates to be Director of Central Intelligence, substituting William H. Webster of the F.B.I., a less controversial choice, to join what he called "an accomplished and highly respected new team."

Soothing the Congress

The President promised to observe the rules of Congressional oversight and said "proper procedures for consultation with the Congress will be followed, not only in letter but in spirit." His new chief of staff, who is well respected on Capitol Hill, was warmly welcomed there last week.

Talking to Moscow

A new Soviet arms control proposal seemed well-timed for Mr. Reagan, who hailed it as a "new opportunity." He said Secretary of State Shultz would meet with the Soviet Foreign Minister next month in Moscow "to maintain the momentum that has been generated."

Demonstrating Vigor

After weeks of low visibility following his surgery, the President made several public appearances last week. "As far as I'm concerned, the American people sent me here to do a job and there are just two years left to get it done," he told the National Newspaper Association.

speech should not obscure the large obstacles that lie ahead.

"We want to change the standard by which Reagan is judged, we want to up the ante," the aide said. "The White House will show him sharpening pencils and chairing meetings, and that's fine from a public relations point of view. But if he doesn't go beyond p.r., and really deal with us, he won't be taken seriously on the Hill."

Nevertheless, the President has clearly helped himself. His television speech, combined with a flurry of public appearances and statements, conveyed the message that he is physically up to his job, and tapped into the vast reservoir of personal popularity that has sustained him throughout his career.

The 'Permanent Government'

On Friday, Mr. Reagan announced he was dispatching Secretary of State George P. Shultz to Moscow to help "maintain the momentum" in arms control proposals.

On another front, Mr. Reagan has won high praise for his recent appointments, particularly of Howard H. Baker Jr., as White House chief of staff and William H. Webster as Director of Central Intelligence. (Robert M. Gates, his first nominee for the C.I.A. post withdrew under fire after sharp questioning in Congress about his part in the Iran-contra affair.)

In contrast to such zealous freelancers as John M. Poindexter, Oliver L. North and Robert C. McFarlane, the new White House appointees, along with Frank C. Carlucci, the new national security adviser, are seasoned, pragmatic professionals. They are also card-carrying members of what is called the "permanent government," which stays on in Washington, transcending administrations and ideological cycles.

Kirk O'Donnell, a former aide to Democratic leaders in Congress, noted that the newcomers, simply because they were not involved in the Iran-contra operation and thus do not have to answer questions about the scandal, enable the President to "change the focus of his Administration from past actions to future plans."

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat, argued that the appointments signal a move away from the right wing and toward "the center of the political spectrum." He added: "The ideological Administration is over."

One Democratic strategist even suggested that Mr. Baker is really "the first President of the post-Reagan era." Unlike his predecessors on the White House staff, he has a national political following of his own and may yet re-emerge as a strengthened Presidential candidate.

Mr. Baker had lunch last week with conservative leaders and assured them that he has no agenda of his

own. And he named Kenneth Cribb, an aide to Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d, to his transition team. Mr. Cribb, a Republican strategist, suggested, would serve as a "conservative bodyguard" for the chief of staff.

But Mr. Baker's main influence may be on the tactics of the White House, not its ideology. His predecessor, Donald T. Regan, was a hard-nosed political amateur who picked fights and scraped egos all over the capital.

Mr. Baker, who spent 18 years in the Senate, is a natural conciliator who vastly prefers compromise to confrontation. Many analysts expect him to convene a series of meetings with Congressional leaders on outstanding issues, such as the budget deficit, trade legislation and aid to the rebels, or contras, in Nicaragua.

A major unanswered question is whether President Reagan will listen to his new adviser, or to the more rigid and conservative promptings of his old friends and his own instincts.

But Republican leaders in Congress clearly want the President to heed Mr. Baker and join in the business of compromise.

"There's going to be a new outreach with the Democrats," said Senator Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, the Republican whip. "We haven't been too used to that in the past. But it's going to be very important to do that. We have a country to run."

U.S. Appears Ready to Accept Gorbachev's Gambit

The Deeper Challenges of Striking a Missiles Deal in Europe

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

BRUSSELS The nature of an imaginable war in Europe suddenly looked different last week. The restless Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, had boldly moved on the arms-negotiation chessboard, offering to give up a mighty arsenal of SS-20 missiles in exchange for a lesser one of American Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. With its European allies nervously kibitzing, the United States seemed ready to accept the Russian gambit on medium-range missiles in Europe.

The chess analogy was apt: The NATO side had made the Russian move possible, in turn, by a position that NATO itself had taken much earlier. In 1981, with no missiles in Western Europe to match the highly accurate, three-headed Soviet SS-20, NATO had offered to abandon its contemplated deployment of American medium-range weapons if Moscow gave up its arsenal al-

together. This "zero option" seemed at the time a Western gambit that Moscow could only refuse, an attempt to reassure a jittery Western European public that a belligerent-sounding Reagan Administration was, in fact, earnest about arms reductions.

NATO's deployment of the missiles, despite loud and divisive street protests, righted the strategic balance in Europe. With 108 Pershing 2 ballistic missiles set in West Germany, alliance commanders now have weapons that can strike the Soviet Union itself should Warsaw Pact conventional forces ever burst into Western Europe. This threat to hit the Soviet sanctuary, and not just Soviet forces marshaled in Eastern Europe, strengthens the doctrine of nuclear deterrence. An attack on Western Europe would, implicitly, provoke an American nuclear counterattack from Western Europe on the Soviet Union.

This "coupling" of the United States and Europe had motivated the original NATO decision in 1979 to deploy Pershing 2 and cruise missiles. At the time, the alliance decided some American missiles would be needed even if

Moscow scrapped all its SS-20's. The question posed last week was whether Mr. Gorbachev was seeking to decouple America from its partners, or whether he was, indeed, making a major concession himself. In the NATO nations of Europe, the issue was debated as 50,000 commanders and top civilians happened to be rehearsing responses to a fictional Warsaw Pact land assault triggered by bread riots in Eastern Europe.

A 'Mad' Option

At the end of a seven-year hitch as NATO's supreme commander, Gen. Bernard W. Rogers said that the alliance would be "mad" to take up the zero option. In Cassandra-like tones, the American general has for years warned that Warsaw Pact conventional superiority would oblige him to demand authorization to fire nuclear weapons in a matter of days after a ground attack. Yet even without the Pershing 2 and ground-launched cruise missiles, NATO could respond with submarine-launched cruise missiles, the British and French nuclear forces and, ultimately, America's land-based strategic missiles.

Moreover, some NATO experts argue that in virtually giving up the SS-20, Moscow would be relinquishing what would be its main back-up force in a conventional attack on NATO. The task of the SS-20, they say, would be to take out air bases in West Germany, Spain and Turkey, destroy command and depot facilities and, above all, interdict reinforcements from the United States that would be crucial for turning the tide in the opening days of a conventional war.

The Soviet short-range systems, notably the SS-22's and SS-23's deployed in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, cause understandable disquiet in West Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and Denmark, since these nations lie bracketed in the missiles' sights. Yet at the Geneva talks the Russians have acknowledged the need to deal with shorter-range missiles and, in deference to West Germany, the United States appears unlikely to agree to total removal of medium-range weapons without strong assurances of a deal on shorter-range systems, too.

The deeper challenge of the zero option is to NATO's conventional forces. Here the Warsaw Pact enjoys numerical, but probably not qualitative, superiority, which would be magnified in a denuclearized Central Europe. Few believe that the Soviet Union intends to launch a European war, but many are convinced that Moscow would not be beyond leaning on the Western Europeans to extract political concessions if its superiority on the ground was palpable. And, perversely, a denuclearized central front might make war thinkable — always dangerous in a crisis. The unexhilarating truth about American nuclear weapons — and British and French, ones, too — is that they are cheaper than expenditures on tanks, airfields, ammunition and soldiers' salaries. And at a time of slow growth and overburdened welfare-state budgets, few Western European governments are prepared to put up the extra francs, marks or guilders that a beefed-up conventional deterrent would require. Pettier considerations often lurk behind lofty rhetoric about nuclear deterrence.

The autumn years of Ronald Reagan's Presidency — with its Star Wars project and the nuclear-abolitionist visions entertained at the Reykjavik summit — have prompted considerable talk about the need for Western Europe to assert itself and to do more for its own defense.

Yet the contradictory emotions stirred by the prospect of the zero option — André Girard, the French Defense Minister, called it a "Munich" of nuclear appeasement — suggested how profoundly the Europeans ultimately want to be linked to the United States.

Tough Issues Remain

Getting Down to the Fine Print

WASHINGTON The United States and the Soviet Union have already worked out the main elements of an agreement on medium-range missiles — those capable of traveling between 1,120 to 3,100 miles. But they must still resolve complicated issues of treaty verification and limits on shorter-range missiles.

The extensive American monitoring plan has several key elements. Each side would send inspectors to missile deployment areas and missile assembly facilities to determine the initial number of medium-range missiles that the other side has. Deployed missiles would have to be kept in designated areas. Inspectors would observe the destruction of missiles that are to be eliminated.

In addition, each side would install

monitoring devices and inspectors outside of missile assembly facilities and storage sites to make sure that no new missiles are secretly deployed. More than 100 inspectors on each side would be based in the other's territory.

Soviet officials have said they favor on-site monitoring, but it is not certain what American stipulations would be acceptable to them.

The American Joint Chiefs of Staff reportedly favored a less intrusive monitoring plan.

On short-range missiles, the United States has proposed that it have the right to match the Soviet force of about 130 missiles — SS-12's, SS-22's and SS-23's, with ranges between 300 and 600 miles.

The Americans want to create short-range Pershing 1B missiles by removing



a second rocket stage of its 108 medium-range Pershing 2's.

But American officials say that it is unlikely that West Europeans would agree to let Washington convert the Pershing 2's or deploy short-range missiles, because this would amount to another politically controversial round of deployment of missiles. The agreement, though, would not apply to West Germany's 72 Pershing 1A missiles, which are older short-range missiles.

The Soviet Union has proposed a freeze on short-range missiles in Europe. The Russians have also suggested that they would withdraw short-range missiles from Eastern Europe to put them on Soviet territory.

The proposed Soviet freeze would not cover short-range missiles in the Asian part of the Soviet Union, American officials say. Further talks would deal with the reduction of these short-range missiles and with another category of missiles, those with a range of less than 300 miles.

MICHAEL R. GORDON

The World



Jonathan Jay Pollard after receiving life sentence for spying.

How the Israelis Fell Into Strains With Washington

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

JERUSALEM

In the history of Israeli-American relations, the last two weeks probably marked one of the lowest points. First, the Tower Commission report singled out Israel for encouraging and facilitating — for its own interests — the American arms-for-hostages deal with Iran. The ink on that report had barely dried last week when a Federal District Court in Washington sentenced Jonathan J. Pollard, the former Navy intelligence analyst, to life imprisonment, and his wife, Anne Henderson Pollard, to five years, for espionage on behalf of Israel.

While the two affairs, of themselves, may not permanently spoil American-Israeli relations, they have clearly contributed to a deterioration. This was starkly reflected in Judge Aubrey Robinson's decision to show Mr. Pollard no mercy, even though his spying was for Israel rather than for a country hostile to the United States. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres concluded: "There is no doubt that this event has created a problem in our relations. I would say that there is serious erosion, but I would add that the body is very strong."

How long it will remain so, however, may depend on how seriously Israelis reflect on the underlying causes.

A major factor in both affairs has been the intense and intimate relationship that has developed between Israel and the United States during the warmly pro-Israel Reagan Administration. "The last six years of Reagan, Arab terrorism, the fall in oil prices and the generally low standing of the Arab world in American eyes have lulled Israeli officials into thinking they can do no wrong in America," said Zeev Chafetz, a former Israeli official.

Indeed, everything seemed to be going Israel's way in America, and relations between the two countries became so close and unquestioning that the line where one started and the other stopped became blurred for some officials on both sides. If Mr. Reagan was the "Teflon President," then some Israelis thought they had the "Teflon country," at least as far as America was concerned. Some Israeli officials evidently thought they could get away with almost anything in Washington.

This may explain the brazenness of Mr. Pollard's Israeli contacts, Col. Aviem Sella and Rafel Eitan, who, according to Federal investigators used an American Jew to penetrate United States intelligence, without apparent consideration for the implications in case of exposure. It also may explain Israel's lack of concern for American feelings when it rewarded Colonel Sella and Mr. Eitan with promotions after their roles be-

came known in the supposedly "rogue" Pollard operation. It may explain the decision to appoint as military attaché in Washington Maj. Gen. Amos Yaron, the officer in charge of Israeli forces during the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacre of Palestinians in Lebanon, in which Israel has admitted indirect involvement. When Israel tried to have General Yaron also accredited to Canada last week, Ottawa refused. And it may explain Israel's insistence that everything it did in the Iran arms affair was at the behest of the United States and to save American hostages, even though it is now clear that Israel began the arms sales before any American appeals and was acting on its own agenda.

A second major cause for the scandals is the functioning of Israel's national unity coalition Government. It is essentially run by three men who dislike one another intensely and barely talk to one another — Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir of the Likud Party, and Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, who belong to the Labor Party. There is thus no coherent leadership. It is possible that they did not know about the Pollard operation, as they say, but it is not clear what would be worse: that they knew and did nothing about it, or that they did not know what was happening in their own Government.

Sticking Together

Normally such incompetence would bring on a no-confidence vote. But because the Labor-Likud coalition controls a heavy parliamentary majority, there is no effective opposition to challenge Mr. Shamir, Mr. Rabin and Mr. Peres, who, for all their mutual antipathy, have learned to stick together under duress for purposes of self-preservation.

"Pollard has paid with life imprisonment," said Hadashot, a leftist newspaper. "Here, no one will pay. Here, people keep silent, are evasive, cast responsibility on lower-ranking officials, hide out until the wave passes." When the Likud Minister of Industry, Ariel Sharon, stepped in to protect his friend Rafael Eitan by making him chairman of the big state-owned Israel Chemicals concern, Mr. Rabin and Mr. Peres looked the other way. Mr. Shamir returned the favor by covering for their decisions to involve Israel in the Iran arms deal.

The ruling triumvirate, wrote David Landau, a Jerusalem Post editor, is "less an optimal amalgam of wisdom and experience than a society of underwriters, formed to share responsibility so that no one need bear it alone, or could cast it on the other." The concept of ministerial responsibility and holding people to account, he added, "has long been fading out of Israeli politics. Thirty months of unity government seem finally to have finished it off."

Now Nakasone Has Other Things to Worry About

U.S. Demands on Trade No Longer Rattle Japan

By CLYDE HABERMAN

TOKYO

AMERICAN and Japanese trade negotiators held another round of discussions last week, sessions that have become a familiar ritual. As it had done countless times, the United States reported mild progress after the talks but no breakthrough that might make it easier for American companies to sell things like car telephones, pharmaceutical drugs, medical equipment or microchips in Japan. Those products form the core of the present American trade offensive.

The campaign carries a cumbersome bureaucratic label — "market-oriented, sector-specific" negotiations, known as MOSS for short. A running joke here is that the acronym really stands for More Of the Same Stuff.

Certainly, the complaints about invisible Japanese barriers had a familiar ring. An agreement last year that should have led to increased imports of American microchips has yet to produce real results, the United States team said. American-made car telephones, they also complained, are allowed only into the less lucrative western part of the country, not the critical eastern market that includes Tokyo.

The intractability of the United States-Japan trade dispute is fraying patience on both sides. W. Allen Wallis, Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, told the Japanese Government last week that protectionist sentiment is running high in Washington. There is "a perception in the United States," he said, "that Japan encourages exports and inhibits imports," and he cautioned that if the Reagan Administration hoped to head off an angry Congress it needed Japan's help. Help means allowing more American goods to enter this country.

A Familiar Refrain

Not that the Japanese didn't already know all that. Grim stories about protectionism fever on Capitol Hill have filled the newspapers since the Democrats recaptured both houses of Congress last November. But while Japan worries a bit more than usual these days that the Americans may block some of its exports, it is hardly panicking. And its leaders are not in a mood to make

major concessions, especially since some senior trade officials question Washington's resolve to carry out its threats. They have, after all, heard it all before.

Consider the following news items, chosen at random from 1978: Japan posts a record annual trade surplus, even while the yen hits a record high against the dollar; the chief United States trade negotiator blames Japanese import restrictions; the head of Japan's Economic Planning Agency puts the fault on large American budget deficits; Japan, trade officials protest, is as open a market as any; the Prime Minister, on his way to Washington, promises that his country will meet its international responsibilities and work to reduce the trade surplus.

Any of those stories could also have been written in the last year — and were. The only real difference was that the trade imbalance grew worse than ever: the 1978 figure of \$13.6 billion ballooned in 1986 to \$58.5 billion.

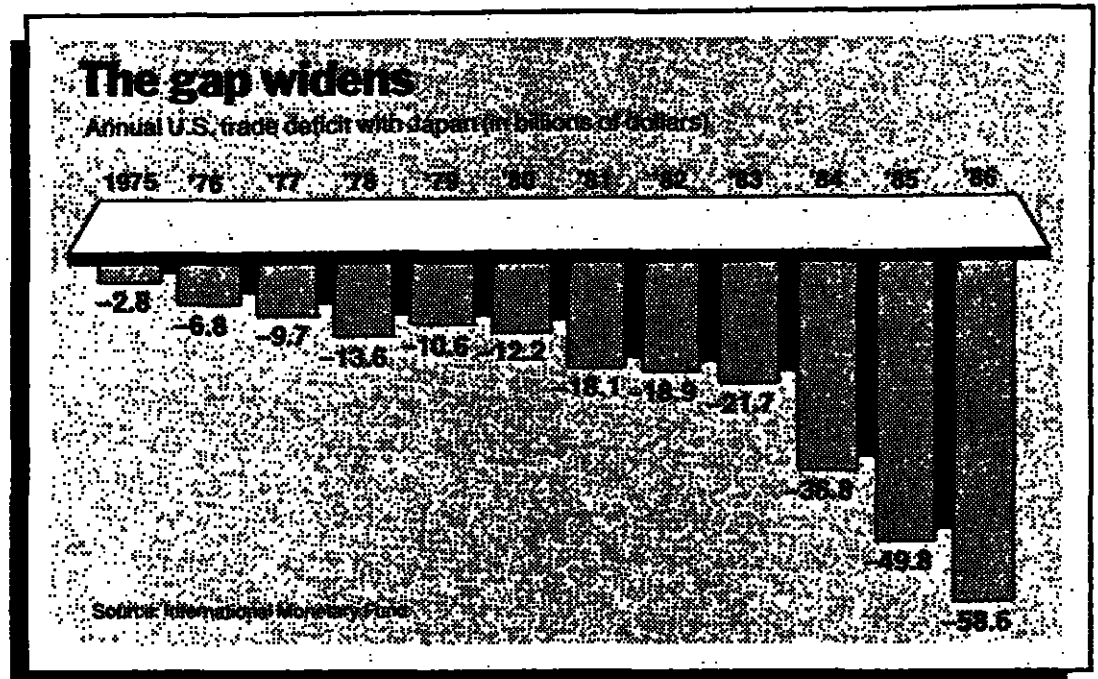
A more subtle difference may be developing in Japanese attitudes. To judge from conversations

with Government officials and others, a weariness with American demands is creeping in at the edges. In addition, Japanese increasingly feel that they have enough economic problems of their own, trade surpluses notwithstanding.

The mood was not lightened last week when the Government announced that the unemployment rate in January had reached a record high of 3 percent of the labor force. For now, Government attention is not on trade talks but on stimulating the economy. That happens also to be Washington's goal for Japan, the idea being that Japanese would thus spend more, maybe even on imports from the United States. But the Japanese make clear that pleasing the Americans would be a happy coincidence, not their priority.

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone promises to offer measures to increase domestic demand, but when and how he will act is not clear. Only eight months after leading his ruling party to a landslide victory in national elections, Mr. Nakasone is in political trouble, besieged by the opposition and even rebels within his party because of his plan to impose a new sales tax. The tax debate has delayed a budget for the fiscal year that begins April 1. Without a budget, there can be no program for economic invigoration.

The impasse is serious enough to feed speculation that the Prime Minister may even be forced out of office before his term expires next October, an event that might make things even worse for the American trade ambitions, as Mr. Nakasone has been an unusually sympathetic listener to Washington's complaints.



The Struggle for Peasant Hearts and Minds in Nicaragua



Contra soldiers on a mission inside Nicaragua last month.

in Nicaragua for the contras to build on.

But there is also strong doubt about the contras' ability to imitate successfully other aspects of the Salvadoran guerrilla movement. According to several Western diplomats and military analysts, the Nicaraguan rebels still lack the organized base of popular support, political sophistication and effective ideology that have helped the Salvadoran rebels to undermine Government authority. As importantly, the analysts say, the Sandinista army appears to be far more adept at fighting a guerrilla war than the Salvadoran army.

Independent analysts and Salvadoran rebels say much of their success depends on exploiting genuine social grievances and making military action subordinate to political goals. The Salvadoran guerrillas spent almost ten years organizing students, peasants and urban workers before they launched a military campaign. When the Government army struck back it found that it was fighting a committed network of rebel supporters.

By contrast, the contras opened their war with military attacks, rather than political appeals. They undercut their own potential appeal by committing human rights abuses and by relying on former members of the widely despised National Guard that defended Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle.

Creating a base of popular support appears essential to guerrillas and, according to both former Salvadoran rebels and American officials, it is one of the fundamentals that Cuban trainers have emphasized to both Salvadoran rebel leaders and Sandinista commanders. The contras' American advisers appear to have been far less expert in the art of guerrilla war.

The Sandinistas do not appear to have forgotten the lessons they learned, when they were guerrillas in the field. They have worked hard to prevent the contras from organizing peasant supporters, and jailed or uprooted tens of thousands of contra sympathizers, forcibly relocating entire village populations to areas under Sandinista control.

Hindering the Contras

"The Sandinistas understand counterinsurgency because eight years ago they were guerrillas," observed one American military official.

In the cities, the Sandinista secret police, as well as press censorship and other restrictions, have hindered the contras. So has the contras' limited political appeal, which has contributed to their failure to build an effective underground organization. The rebels face similar restrictions in El Salvador, but they are less consistently applied there. In addition, the Salvadoran rebels are willing to die or go to jail in the struggle to form trade unions, human rights groups and student associations to press their cause.

The principal ideology guiding the Salvadoran guerrillas is Marxist-Leninism. It is not necessarily a doctrine of wide popular appeal, which may be why both the Sandinistas and the Salvadoran rebels downplay their Marxist beliefs in public.

Contra officials say their ideology is democracy, an idea that is likely to have wide appeal in Nicaragua. But it is also a promise that has been abused by past dictators, and by the contras' own record of dubious conduct. In addition, little thought seems to have been given to making democracy, with its emphasis on individual choice, into a doctrine of revolutionary war. Contra commanders here inside Nicaragua say they intend to try. They appear unlikely to win, but some analysts say the rebels could become a serious problem for the Nicaraguan Government. "If the contras get American backing and don't murder civilians, they have a chance to become effective spoilers," said a West European diplomat who monitors the rebels. "But it's hard to see them overthrowing the Sandinistas."

Teaching the Contras Leftist Rebels' Methods

By JAMES LEMOYNE

LAS AMARAS, Nicaragua

WITH new battle plans, weapons and American training the contra guerrillas appear to be on the offensive again in Nicaragua. Infiltrating from Honduras through jungle passes like the ones that create this mountain zone, the rebels say they are making a final effort to become a guerrilla force able to challenge the Sandinistas for control of the country.

How well the contras do will partly depend on how much aid they get from Washington, where their support seems to have declined. This week, the Democratic leadership in the House is expected to try to delay for six months the release of \$40 million in aid for the contras. But President Reagan is likely to successfully veto the delay.

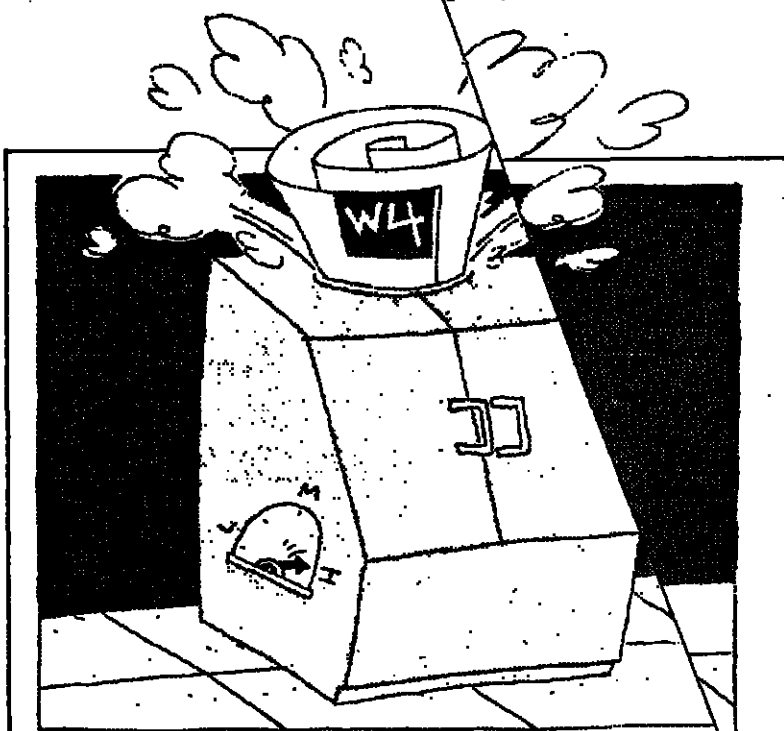
Another battle over contra aid is expected in the fall, when the Reagan Administration intends to request another \$100 million for the rebels.

One model for the contras' new campaign, according to two American officials who helped organize training for them, is the war waged against the Government in El Salvador for the last seven years by Marxist-led rebels. The Nicaraguan contras need to study the Salvadoran rebels' success in organizing popular support, the officials said.

The deputy commander of a contra combat patrol in Nicaragua spoke earnestly the new language, to the contras, of relying on the people to further the struggle. "We will hand out medicine, explain why we are fighting and convince people to fight with us," he said. A two-day trip to a contra base camp near here, as well as interviews with peasants who have fled the Sandinistas, indicate that there is a degree of popular discontent

Secretary of State George P. Shultz and his wife, Helena, were greeted with pomp and hospitality on visit to Guilin, China, last week.

The Nation



What's Shorter, More Colorful — and Maybe Easier to Read?

FIRST there was the Tax Reform Act of 1986, promoted on its promise of simplification. And indeed, it lowered the rates most people pay. Then there was the Internal Revenue Service, directed to create a new W-4 form for taxpayers to compute how much should now be withheld from their paychecks. And then came the howls of confusion, anxiety and frustration from taxpayers, their accountants and the politicians who represent them all.

Arthur Aitman, chairman of the Forms Coordinating Committee at the tax agency, acknowledged early on that the elaborate new W-4, whose four pages were double the size of the old one, was thought to be a "horror." But that, he said, was because the old one was so simple, not considering, for example, two-earner households. "I don't know how we could do it differently," he said. Last week, the I.R.S. announced it had found a way, sort of.

It is called the W-4-A. It is back to two pages and it is more colorful — pink has been added. According to a private consulting

firm that conducted consumer tests on it, it is less forbidding.

But simplicity and brevity come at a price. The new W-4 had been drafted to meet two goals: adjusting a taxpayer's withholding for the sweeping changes of the new law and, as Congress required, matching more accurately than the old W-4 the amount of tax withheld and tax liability. The truncated W-4-A provides a rougher gauge, and so is designed to err on the side of withholding more tax rather than less.

That could help prevent unpleasant surprises on April 15, surprises that now include stiffer penalties for underwithholding. As for honest mistakes, the I.R.S. has taken no position on interest penalty amnesty for people who make them. But the official position last week was that taxpayers who make a "good faith" effort, filling out either a W-4 or a W-4-A by June 1, will not be penalized.

Or the daring might wait for a W-4b. The only requirement of law is filing by Oct. 1. On Capitol Hill, there were hearings on even more streamlining.

Public-Sector Unions Are Labor's Darlings

By KENNETH B. NOBLE

THE decline of the labor movement has been much chronicled in recent years, as have the protestations of its leaders that the decline has been greatly exaggerated. But the numbers show only one area in which organized labor is enjoying robust health. Public-sector workers — from firefighters to sanitation workers to teachers — are doing far better than their private-sector brothers and sisters.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics' latest reports, the average pay increase in contracts negotiated by unions representing state, county and city workers in 1986 was 5.7 percent. The average increase for all American workers was 3.2 percent. (Federal workers were held to a 3 percent rise in January because of budget constraints.) In 1980, 5 percent of state and local workers were unionized; in 1986, more than a third were. Some labor analysts predict that government workers soon will outnumber private-sector workers among the rank-and-file.

What accounts for the relative prosperity of public-sector unions? For one thing, over the past 20 years or so, the once-burning question of whether public employees should be allowed to join unions has been largely resolved. Before the mid-1960's, only a handful of states authorized public employees to engage in collective bargaining; today, only 15, all in the Southwest and Southeast, discourage it. Only two of them — Texas and North Carolina — prohibit it.

As to the relative prosperity of public workers, demands for concessions now confronting private-sector unions came a decade earlier for municipal workers, many of whose employers, city and state governments, are better off now.

Then, too, as Audrey Freedman, an economist at the Conference Board, a business research group, put it, "Public-sector unions have a great deal of political leverage. Managements can't shut down the city government or the transit system or the toll booths, or lock out the workers. A third factor is added by Mark de Bernardis, a law manager for the United States Chamber of Commerce: "Government managers have tended not to bargain competitively

because they have no incentive to maintain labor costs."

But as the leaders of public workers' unions prepare their negotiators for one of the heaviest bargaining schedules in recent years, thorny issues lie ahead that could test what has been comparative harmony at the bargaining table. State and local bargaining this year will involve about half of the 2.3 million workers under major agreements covering 1,000 workers or more. Of those 2.3 million workers, about 813,000 are in local government, with the largest number — 262,000 — in New York City. And it is local government that is the hardest hit by the loss of the \$4 billion-a-year general revenue-sharing program, victim of Federal deficit-cutting.

Hundreds of local governments have already announced plans to increase taxes and reduce services. Early this year, for example, Sharpe-James, Mayor of Newark, warned that without additional money from the state, he would be forced to lay off about 200 city employees, includ-

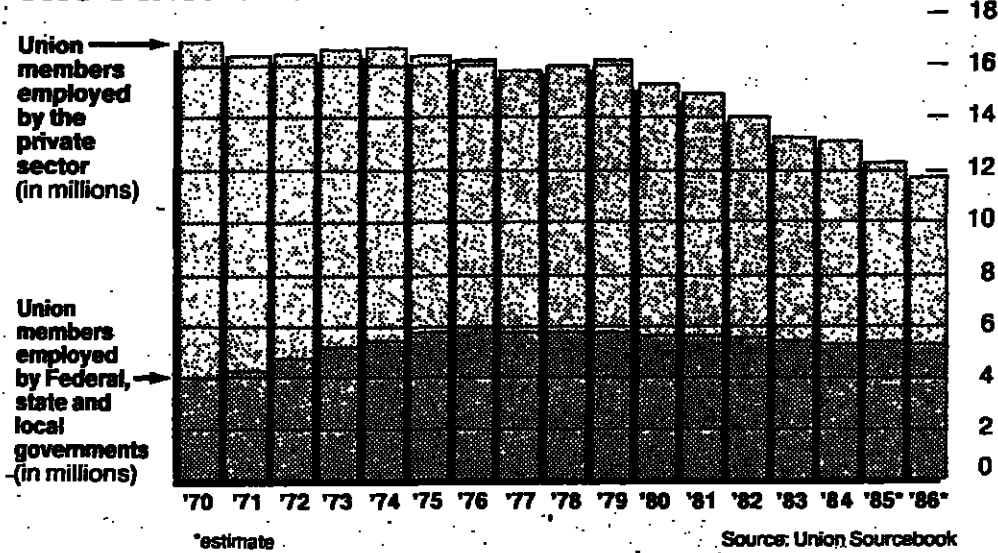
ing police officers and firefighters. Newark, he said, faces a revenue shortfall of almost \$36 million.

Another potentially disruptive issue is the growing use of government contracts for services such as garbage collection with private, often nonunion, companies. Publicly, labor argues that "contracting out is a wrongheaded method because there's no evidence that it saves money or that services are delivered more effectively," as Donald S. Wasserman, director of collective bargaining for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, said recently. But privately, some union leaders believe that this is an issue on which they will lose ground, if for no other reason than that the practice appears to be gathering public support.

"While it's bad for the counties and the labor movement to be experiencing the loss of federal revenues, I think we'll be drawn closer together," said Larry Jones, legislative director of the National Association of Counties. "Labor is coming to understand more and more that local budgets have bottoms to them."

Gerald W. McEntee, president of the state, county and municipal employees union, put the situation differently. "Labor relations in the public sector have been relatively quiet in recent years," he said. "But when you turn around and look at strikes in Philadelphia and Detroit, and more recently at Rutgers, we can detect a new degree of militancy out there, a feeling that people just aren't going to take it anymore."

The state of the unions



Candidates Prospect a Year From The Prize

With the day that could decide the 1988 contests for the Republican and Democratic nominations for President a year away this week, both declared and prospective candidates are stepping up their schedules. But before March 8, 1988, when all Southern, most border and a growing number of other states will hold their primaries and caucuses, comes voting in Iowa. That was where the parties' putative front-runners found themselves last week.

Former Senator Gary Hart, the Colorado Democrat, talked about the perils of dwelling on single issues — in this case, trade and protectionism. Vice President Bush was trying to pull himself out from under one, the Iran-contra affair.

Bush strategists, who arranged the trip more than a month ago and were apprehensive because it had fallen in one of the Administration's toughest weeks, were relieved by Iowa Republicans' gentle questioning about the controversy and their man's role in it. The public reaction to Mr. Bush generally was more mixed. The New York Times/CBS News poll, published last week, showed a significant drop in Mr. Bush's popularity. Thirty-two percent of those surveyed said they had a favorable opinion of him and 19 percent a negative view; in January, 43 percent were favorable and 23 percent unfavorable.

Meanwhile, his principal rival — and, most political professionals say, the principal beneficiary of any difficulties the Iran affair may produce for Mr. Bush — officially declared that he was contemplating declaring. Bob Dole of Kansas, the Senate minority leader, formed what is known as an exploratory committee. Among the Democrats, Senator Joseph R. Biden Jr. of Delaware went a technical step further, forming an official campaign committee.

No matter what the forms, according to the Federal Election Commis-

sion, with which both men filed, contenders are "legal candidates" after spending more than \$5,000 "in pursuit of the nomination."

Military Reserves Claim Shortages

The complaint of senior military men about shortages in ammunition, spare parts, medical supplies, fuel and other items needed for combat has become familiar in Washington, particularly around budget time. Last week, it became known that the nation's top reserve officers share the regular forces' view.

In a report by the Reserve Forces Policy Board, which had not then been made public, 22 senior officers and civilian officials of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force and Coast Guard, told Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger that their forces are far from ready for wartime duty.

The officers, who make up the principal policy advisory body on the reserves, cited particularly "critical shortages" in medical personnel and inadequate training in needed skills for many reservists. With growth in the military budget slowed in the last two years, Pentagon planners rely heavily on the reserves. Forty-nine percent of the Army's wartime strength, for example, is projected to be in the Army Reserve or National Guard, including all the divisions that would train draftees.

The board also said there was a total of \$16.8 billion in equipment shortages in the last fiscal year, an increase of \$1.1 billion over the year before that, and projected another rise this year. The "most critical" categories, the report said, include communications and transport. The reserves' management of equipment and spare parts is being criticized, however. Citing "a glaring lack of accountability," Senator Pete Wilson, Republican of California, has asked for a General Accounting Office audit of 6,500 reserve units.

Martha A. Miles and Caroline Rand Herron

Verbatim: Balancing Interests

'... the Constitution sometimes insulates the criminality of a few in order to protect the privacy of us all.'

Associate Justice Antonin Scalia

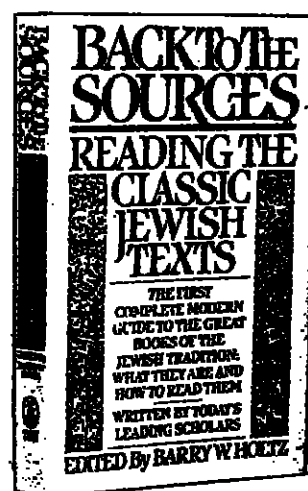
in a Supreme Court ruling refusing to expand police powers to search or seize objects they see that they suspect may be stolen.

The Jerusalem Post Library

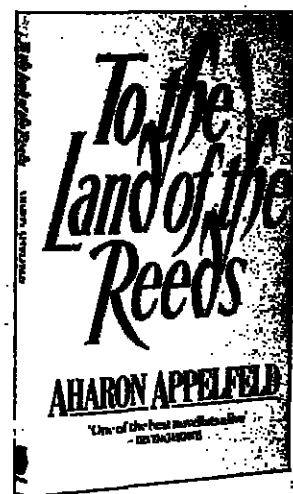
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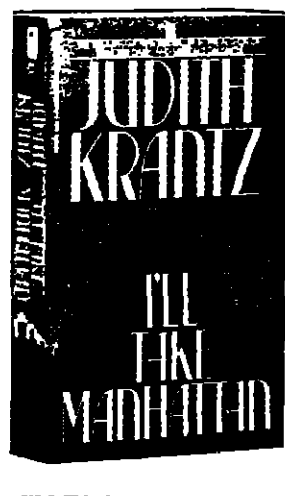
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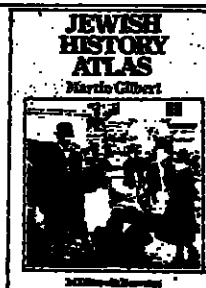
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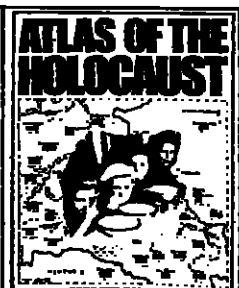
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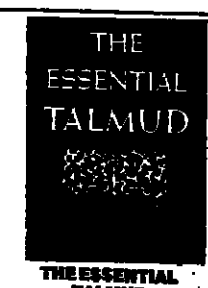
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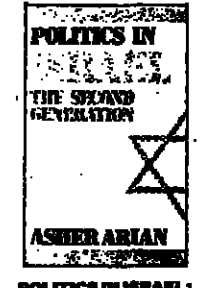
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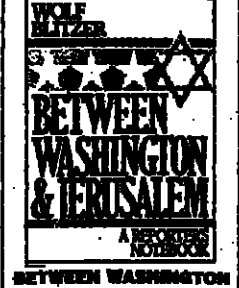
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A Peek at I.B.M.'s Trump Card

By DAVID E. SANGER

LUIS ARZUBI leaned over a microscope here the other day, focused on a small part of a silicon wafer jammed with hundreds of memory chips, and said with a broad smile: "Here, look at this." Etched into the silicon, alongside the expected line of densely packed memory cells and razor-straight circuitry, was an unexpected image: a leaping gazelle.

Gazelle, in fact, is the code name for the International Business Machines Corporation's first 4-megabit chips, devices with four times as much memory as the most advanced chip on the market today. It is a design and manufacturing triumph that Mr. Arzubi, the precise, Argentine-born laboratory director of I.B.M.'s huge semiconductor plant here — a plant that the Defense Science Board and the Central Intelligence Agency have called one of the industry's scarce pockets of manufacturing excellence — hopes will prove as lithe and speedy as its namesake in keeping predators at bay.

Like the plant in which it was built, the Gazelle project, until recently, has been shrouded in secrecy. Indeed, I.B.M. did not publicly reveal its existence until 10 days ago, and even then it was deliberately understated. At the International Solid State Circuits Conference in New York, an an-

Big Blue's process for making chips is decidedly un-Japanese, but it could well beat Japan in a cutthroat market.

venture and enticing the Reagan Administration to join in.

I.B.M.'s motivation in sharing its techniques with the industry is hardly all altruistic. Unable to make more than a fraction of the chips it consumes, I.B.M. depends heavily on outside suppliers. Many of those suppliers are Japanese, and I.B.M. fears that, in order to protect their own industry's competitive position, Japan's electronic giants may start to balk at providing state-of-the-art components. More importantly, I.B.M. depends heavily on American makers of semiconductor manufacturing equipment who themselves are failing in the face of Japanese competition.

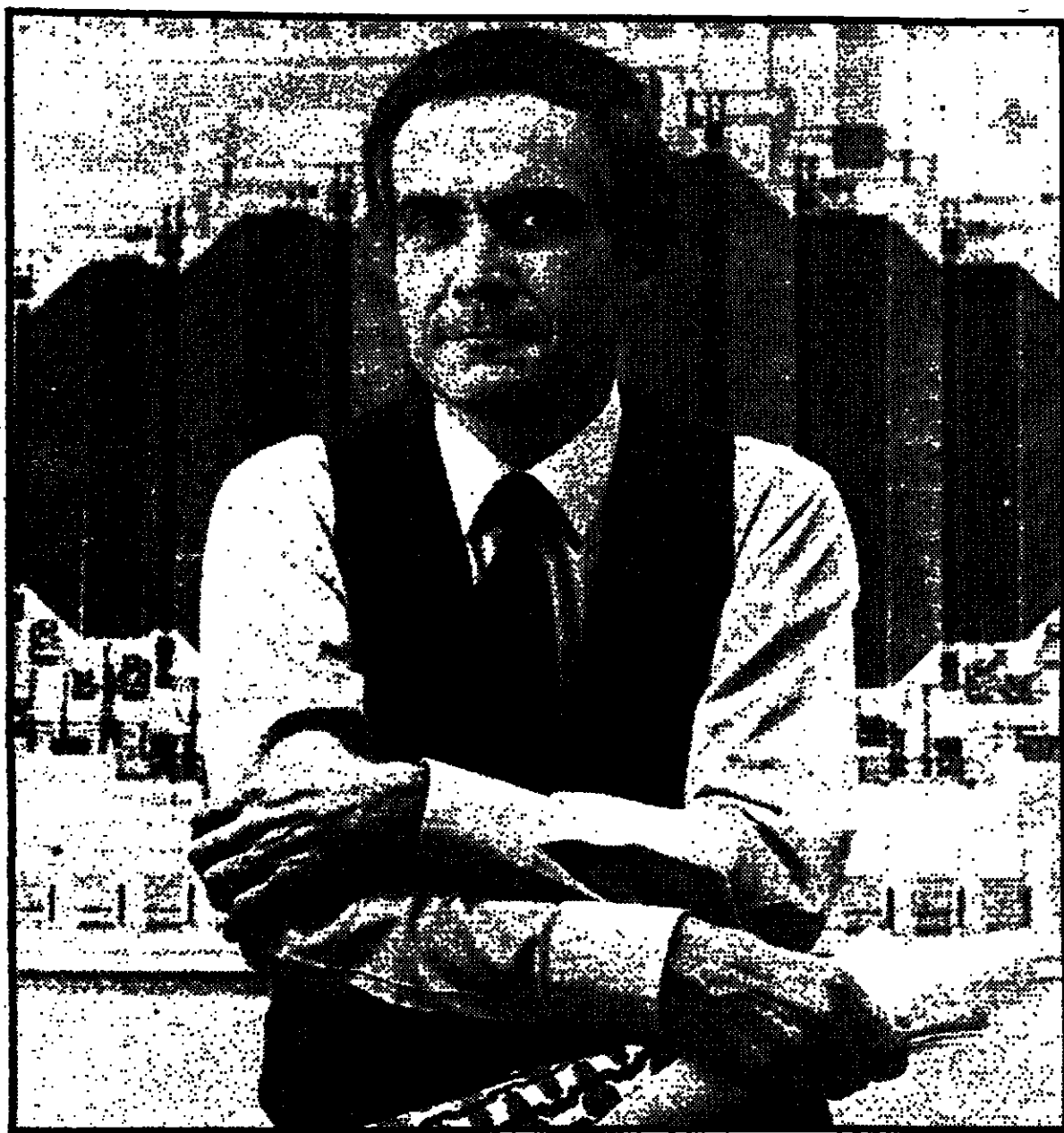
"We need to advance the state of the manufacturing art," Paul R. Low, the president of I.B.M.'s general technology division, said in Washington last week. "That means supporting the people who make our tools, who supply our materials."

Still, what works for I.B.M. may not

company automates only "under the hood," or in the work areas where the chips are actually produced. And while Japanese equipment is designed specifically to turn out one product in tremendous volume, I.B.M.'s is made for many types — so that memory chips and microprocessors can run on the same line, the same day. It's as if an auto manufacturer set up to build sports cars in the morning, then switched over to pick-up trucks after lunch.

If there is a similarity between I.B.M.-Burlington and its Japanese counterparts, it may be in the work force. The Burlington workers are, for the most part, hardy New Englanders who, like the Japanese, measure their tenure in decades. The turnover rate at Burlington is under 1 percent; more than 100 of the 7,800 workers now at the plant have been there since it was built in 1957.

THE 4 million-square-foot Burlington plant sits on a bend in the Winooski, just at the base of



Luis Arzubi, in front of a schematic diagram of a 16-megabit chip.

mount event at which Japanese and American chip makers warily trade progress reports, I.B.M. said only that company engineers had "described the design" of a D-RAM chip that could store four million pieces of data.

In fact, the design was completed nine months ago. And now the 4-megabit chips — another generational milestone toward making computers faster, smaller, harder to copy and, perhaps most importantly, far less expensive — are just months away from full-scale production here, after what appears to be a record development time. Moreover, in another low building across the Winooski River from this northern Vermont plant, a team of I.B.M. chip designers has already moved well down the road to a 16-megabit chip, even putting parts of it on silicon. That chip, which contains enough text on a quarter-inch rectangle to fill 370 pages of this newspaper, will likely be in test production by the end of the year, putting I.B.M. in a neck-and-neck race with Nippon Telegraph and Telephone, which has been boasting of a similar achievement.

TO I.B.M., more important than Burlington's scoreboard status against Japan is its central role in the effort to reverse a two-year earnings slide and pump energy into a product line some find aging. "It's our trump card," said Jack D. Kuehler, I.B.M.'s ever optimistic head of large-system manufacturing and technology. "This is the place we are depending on to stay ahead."

It is also a place that other members of the beleaguered semiconductor industry are viewing with a mixture of envy and hope. The Burlington techniques may be the best — perhaps the only — weapon to reverse a losing battle against the Japanese. Indeed, those techniques now seem likely to become the model for Sematech, the joint venture that the industry approved last week as part of its last-ditch effort to stave off Japanese manufacturing advances. Much of the success of that effort, insiders say, depends on the contribution of I.B.M., which is playing a major behind-the-scenes role in forming the

work for the rest of the industry. By all accounts, I.B.M. is the world's largest producer, and probably the largest consumer, of semiconductors of all kinds. So it is worth it to I.B.M. to spend the hundreds of millions of dollars a year it takes to keep Burlington up to date.

But in the current semiconductor slump, that is more than many chip makers realize in revenues. And because Burlington is a captive supplier, it knows what products will be in demand, and when.

"Unfortunately, the I.B.M. experience suggests that companies which just make components, not systems, may not make it in the long run," said John G. Linvill, the director of Stanford University's Center for Integrated Systems, a leading semiconductor research institute. Most "merchant" manufacturers who sell only components, he said, "have to change or die."

No one knows if Sematech will help achieve that change, or even how much I.B.M. will contribute. But the company's apparent willingness to share at least some of Burlington's technology represents a marked departure from the past. "People who have spent a lifetime in the semiconductor industry have no idea what's going on in that place," said George A. Rutland, the president of Ultratech Stepper Inc. and a supplier of key manufacturing equipment used in the plant. Even the plant's output has been closely guarded. Despite subtle pressure from the Government, I.B.M. has declined to sell its chips, saying it can barely fill its own needs.

Already, I.B.M. has lifted the plant's veil high enough to make one ironic point clear: Its techniques are distinctly un-Japanese. "It's a wholly different philosophy," observed Professor Linvill. "The Japanese survive on volume — run one product at full tilt and drive the cost down." At I.B.M., the key is flexibility.

Even to a casual visitor, the differences are noticeable. While robots roam the fabrication areas of Toshiba and Hitachi, they are rarely found in Burlington. I.B.M. says that they would interfere with the company's ability to switch signals — and products — instantly. Instead, the

Mount Mansfield, more familiar to skiers as the town of Stowe. Its existence here is a fluke. Thomas Watson Jr., the son of I.B.M.'s founder, was a sporting enthusiast who owned part of a nearby mountain. According to local folklore, he built the plant when local officials complained that the local economy was faltering.

Quickly, Burlington, along with a sister plant in Fishkill, N.Y., became I.B.M.'s unseen components supplier, at a time when few of the company's electronic parts came from outside vendors. With the luxury of time and advance knowledge of product plans, Burlington was able to concentrate on quality. It boasted some of the first 64K and 256K dynamic RAM's, or random access memory chips, and scores of the high-speed chips in I.B.M.'s biggest systems.

But it learned precious little about competitiveness. In the absence of competition for I.B.M.'s business, cost was never a driving issue. And because the development schedules of I.B.M. products drove the development of new chips, rather than the other way around, there was little incentive to stay on the industry's cutting edge. Nicholas M. Donofrio, who played a key role in the development of I.B.M.'s 64K chip — the first ever produced in volume — and who now runs the plant, recalls when the company was bringing out its 4300 line of mainframes. "The designers of the system bogged down," he said. "We just sat and waited."

All that changed around the time I.B.M. brought out its personal computer in 1981. The machine ran almost exclusively on parts produced by outside vendors, largely because I.B.M. itself was in such a rush to get a product to market. But quickly, outside sourcing took off at I.B.M., spurred by the rapidly declining prices of chips of all kinds. Suddenly Burlington found its products notably absent from new I.B.M. products.

"We looked at their stuff," an engineer at I.B.M.'s typewriter plant in Lexington, Ky., said a few years ago when asked why so few I.B.M.-made parts were included in a new product. "They didn't hack it."

But over the past two years, I.B.M. has again been making heavy use of

"proprietary" or I.B.M.-made chips. In part, that is because Burlington and its satellite plants have now geared up to provide a range of chips. In part, it is also because makers of I.B.M.-PC "clones" found they could buy off-the-shelf parts as easily as I.B.M. could — and then undersell the company's PC's. The next generation of I.B.M. PC's, expected in April, will incorporate Burlington's 1-megabit dynamic RAM's and, reportedly, proprietary chips that will make the machine difficult to copy.

Burlington's chips are still missing from such popular I.B.M. products as the Proprietary. "We are a captive supplier to a non-captive buyer," said Mr. Donofrio, the athletic-looking, 41-year-old general manager. "If I.B.M. doesn't like the part, it doesn't buy it." And he added with a wry smile: "It's not a business that you or I would go into voluntarily."

It is also not a business that anyone enters inexpensively. Over the past decade, each successive generation of chips has enjoyed a shorter and shorter lifespan. That phenomenon — chiefly the result of tremendous technical advances in computer-aided chip design — has brought faster and cheaper computers to market more quickly than anyone thought possible 10 years ago. But it also means that oftentimes, a chip is obsolete before machinery that makes it is paid off.

Japan's electronics giants have successfully exploited that economic reality. By cutting prices severely, first on 256K and later on 1-megabit D-RAM's, they drove most of their competitors out of business. Only four American companies — I.B.M., A.T.&T., Texas Instruments and tiny Micron Technologies — still make memory chips in the United States.

And by attention to the smallest processing detail, the Japanese have also outpaced American manufacturers in the critical area of "yield," the number of good chips that can be manufactured from a single wafer. That is no easy task. "Remember, this is a process with 300 or 400 steps," said Paul P. Castrucci, a 30-year veteran of I.B.M. "If you get only a 99 percent success rate at each step of the way, you end up with no good chips at all," he says.

BUT the path to high yields in Tokyo barely resembles the way in Burlington. At a Hitachi facility in Japan late last year, company officials proudly showed off one of their cleanest clean rooms. Filtered air rushed throughout the fabrication area, and robots — which do not shed hair and skin — replaced humans at every turn.

At I.B.M. facilities, filtration centers only on areas where wafers are exposed. "It saves a lot of money," said Mr. Castrucci, "and it allows us to reconfigure the space for different products." I.B.M. says that its yield on chips now in full production, including the 1-megabit, is between 60 and 70 percent, considered high but not extraordinary.

I.B.M.'s biggest yield gains, however, come from its willingness to experiment with costly new manufacturing technologies. Its megabit chips, and all next-generation chips, will soon be produced on oversized, 8-inch silicon wafers, rather than the 5-inch wafers that are the standard.

The difference may seem small to outsiders, but not to semiconductor makers. For example, retaining precise images and controlling the chemical processes on a wafer that holds more than 400 chips is enormously complicated. The payoff arises from the fact that 8-inch wafers have a much bigger "sweet spot" — the broad central area of the wafer — yielding more defect-free chips.

Unfortunately for I.B.M., almost none of the nation's producers of semiconductor manufacturing equipment are geared up to handle 8-inch wafers. So the company has had to nurture their development, providing expertise — and reportedly sometimes funding — to suppliers willing to develop specialty equipment. Indeed, many of the manufacturing tools at Burlington are prototypes.

Each of these tools is now designed to handle a variety of chips. "The key is matching the production exactly to demand," said Mr. Castrucci. This is increasingly important as Burlington focuses on quick-turnaround custom and semi-custom chips.

But the Japanese giants are slowly moving into the custom-chip arena as well. Thus, I.B.M. is particularly concerned about the availability of equipment needed to do the job over the next decade. The 64-megabit and 256-megabit chips will require some features to be as little as a quarter of a micron wide — about a four-hundredth the thickness of a piece of paper — something that just a few years ago many in the industry said was probably impossible.

"We still don't know how far we can push it," said Juri Matisoo, the director of silicon technology at I.B.M.'s basic research facility in Yorktown Heights, N.Y.

Mr. Arzubi and his team already are struggling to find new ways to fit more and more into less and less. To build the 4-megabit chip, for example, I.B.M. even began drilling into the silicon wafer itself to build circuit elements vertically, like small skyscrapers, in an effort to save space.

But Mr. Arzubi knows that technological achievements, while live ammunition in the chip wars with Japan, will not be enough by themselves to improve I.B.M.'s bottom line.

"We like to deliver papers and stay in the lead," Mr. Arzubi said the other day, as a giant piece of testing equipment worked steadily behind him, searching for defects on a Gazelle wafer. "But get it straight — unless a lot of silicon leaves this factory, we've failed."

The Economy

WEEK IN BUSINESS

USAir scoffed at Carl C. Icahn's bid to buy it for \$1.65 billion, saying it was a ploy to prevent it from taking over Piedmont for the same amount. USAir's merger talks with Piedmont were complicated by Mr. Icahn's offer, USAir said it was determined to go ahead with its plans, but it apparently is worried enough by Mr. Icahn's bid to be looking elsewhere for a suitor. Mr. Icahn appeared determined, too, and took USAir to court to block the airline from adopting any poison pill defenses. Analysts said he appeared to be using the same approach he used to buy T.W.A. — slowly gain control of the company through stock purchases while using diversionary tactics such as the highly visible cash offer. Other analysts think Mr. Icahn, who already owns 15 percent of USAir, may have another goal in mind: goading USAir into offering to buy T.W.A.

Leading indicators dropped 1 percent in January, the biggest fall in nearly three years. The fall, which was led by a drop in orders for new manufacturing equipment, caused consternation among economists, who had been expecting only a modest drop. ... Unemployment remained unchanged at 6.6 percent overall in February, stalled for the third month at its seven-year low by a stubborn slump in manufacturing jobs.

... Factory orders fell 4 percent in January, the biggest drop in nearly seven years. The fall was somewhat expected, given the surge of orders late in 1986. ... Sales of new homes fell 6.8 percent in January. ... On the positive side, retailers say sales were strong in February, and spending on new construction rose 1 percent in January.

G.M. will buy back about 20 percent of its stock by 1990 at a cost of about \$5 billion. The buyback, the biggest in history, is intended to raise G.M.'s stock price, which has not kept up with the bull market. It may also repair some of the damage that was done by the rift between G.M.'s management and H. Ross Perot.

Stocks gained strongly, helped in part by the optimism inherent in G.M.'s buyback plan. The Dow Jones industrial average, aided by a 30.93-point gain on Wednesday, gained 56.24 points for the week, ending at a record 2,280.23. Interest rates were steady, but jumped a bit when the jobless rate was released.

A tax increase gained support as the chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Dan Rostenkowski, and the Speaker of the House, Jim Wright, said they would support an increase to reduce the budget deficit. But the prospects remain unclear, because the President has said he strongly opposed one, the Democrats are not sure one could pass, and no one appears willing to take the first step and introduce one.

American Airlines ordered 40 jets, spreading the \$2.5 billion order among Boeing and Airbus for the planes and G.E. for the engines. The move strengthened G.E.'s lead over Pratt & Whitney in the engine market, and will also help Airbus.

A.T.&T. and MCI sought to have A.T.&T.'s long-distance rates deregulated. A.T.&T. wants the market to determine its rates. MCI, meanwhile,



Carl C. Icahn

hopes A.T.&T. would raise rates, so it could also.

Japan's jobless rate hit 3 percent, its highest since Japan began to keep records in 1953 and an indication of the impact of the higher yen. Most of the unemployment is in steel, autos, textiles and shipbuilding, which rely heavily on exports and have suffered most as the yen rose.

Oil prices firmed on reports that OPEC was closer to its production quota than had been previously believed. Oil prices had sagged as the OPEC plan appeared to unravel, and some analysts say the new reports were intended to bring the price closer to the \$18-a-barrel target.

Summer M. Redstone won Viacom after a bitter five-week battle. A unit of Mr. Redstone's National Amusements theater chain will pay \$3.4 billion in cash and stock for Viacom, which owns MTV, Showtime and radio, television and cable systems. Mr. Redstone topped offers from a group of Viacom managers.

Many clients of Drexel Burnham Lambert have been subpoenaed or asked for information, according to reports, indicating the Government is looking closely at all of Drexel's junk bond business in its investigation of possible securities law violations.

Japanese banks are considering a plan to deal with their loans to the third world. The banks would pool their loans into a new company that would collect the debts. Bankers in other countries are watching to see if the plan works and can be adapted to their third-world debt situations.

Taft Broadcasting was offered \$145 a share, or \$1.43 billion, in a buyout proposal from some of its management and Narragansett Capital. Taft has been trying to decide whether to liquidate or just sell some assets.

American chip makers will form a consortium in an attempt to better compete with the Japanese. The group will seek Government funding for a prototype plant, called Sematech, where new products would be developed using pooled resources.

Ronald O. Perleman may take Revlon private, just months after he bought it in a bitter battle and said he would keep it as a public company.

Miscellaneous. International Paper will raise its linerboard price again because of strong demand. ... Puro-Lator Courier agreed to a \$265 million buyout by a unit of E.F. Hutton. ... Marvin L. Warner was convicted of securities violations in the collapse of Home State.

The New York Stock Exchange

MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 3, 1987					
(Consolidated)					
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng	Standard & Poor's	
Phil Pet	11,173,200	13 3/4	+ 3/4	400 Indust	331.9 320.5 +8.57
AT&T	10,600,000	23 3/4	+ 7/8	20 Transp	229.6 222.9 +6.26
G Mot	9,941,300	77 1/2	+ 2 1/2	40 Financ	119.0 117.4 +1.60
Occi Pet	9,552,200	31 1/2	- 1/2	500 Stocks	291.2 282.3 +8.96
Usair G	8,831,200	51 1/4	+ 5/8		
Navist	8,752,600	7	- 1/4		
Coca Cl	6,518,100	46 1/4	+ 1 1/2		
IBM	6,115,800	139 3/4	- 1/2		
Pan Am	5,060,800	4 1/2	- 1/2		
Coc C E	5,013,000	18 1/4	+ 1 1/2		
Am Expt	5,845,500	80 1/2	+ 6 1/2		
Revlon	5,770,600	18 1/4	+ 3/4		
Ohio Ed	5,761,800	21 1/2	+ 1/2		
Am Mot	5,723,800	3 1/2	- 1/2		
Hugh TI	5,415,900	12 1/4	+ 1 1/4		

The American Stock Exchange					
MOST ACTIVE STOCKS WEEK ENDED MARCH 6, 1987					
(Consolidated)					
Company	Sales	Last	Net Chng		
Fruit Loom	11,838,100	9 1/4	- 1/4		
WangLab	2,969,700	15 1/4	- 1/4		
BAT Ind	2,243,300	8 3/4	- 1/4		
Temple	2,060,100	12 1/2	- 1/2		
Wickes	2,041,500	3 1/4	- 1/4		
ICH	1,869,800	17 1/4	- 3/4		
BowVal	1,830,100	23 1/4	+ 1 1/4		
LorimerTel	1,800,800	21 1/2	+ 1 1/2		
HomeShop	1,574,400	31 1/4	- 1 1/4		
TexasAirCo	1,475,300	48	...		

MARKET DIARY					
	Last	Prev.		Last	Prev.
Advances	1,193	896	Declines	787	1,059
Total Issues	2,180	2,178	New Highs	355	246
New Lows	21	19			

VOLUME					
(P.M. New York Close)	Last	Week	Year		
Total Sales	891,394,180	8,418,275,528			
Same Per. 1986	794,040,180	6,572,441,469			

WEEK'S MARKET AVERAGES					
	High	Low	Last	Net	Change
New York Stock Exchange					
Indust	197.1	190.9	196.9	+4.92	
Transp	129.5	125.7	129.5	+4.20	
Utilis	77.7	76.7	77.3	+0.16	
Finance	163.8	161.8	163.8	+2.06	
Composite	165.7	161.2	165.4	+3.44	

MARKET DIARY					
	Last	Week	Prev.		
Advances	493	404			
Declines	298	364			
Unchanged	142	154			
Total Issues	933	922			
New Highs	125	81			
New Lows	20	18			

VOLUME					
(P.M. New York Close)	Last	Week	Year		
Total Sales	81,274,860	675,397,080			
Same Per. 1986	84,557,225	594,286,255			

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Mr. Reagan's Third Term

Now what should happen when you make a mistake is this: You take your knocks, you learn your lessons and then you move on. You put things in perspective. You pull your energies together. You change. You go forward.

That doesn't sound like an inaugural address. Yet an inaugural address is what President Reagan's speech Wednesday amounted to, an appeal for a fresh start. He's desperately eager to extricate himself from the Iran-contra quagmire. One could almost hear him grit his teeth as he accepted responsibility, pledged obedience to the law, promised energetic leadership.

It's not in anyone's power to grant that fresh start. Questions about his credibility will hang like thunderclouds until Congress and the independent counsel conclude their investigations. Still, the world won't stop, and the Commander in Chief insists he's eager to command, to start again.

My fellow Americans, I have a great deal that I want to accomplish with you and for you over the next two years.

If he's serious about governing, not just about escaping the muck, he's entitled to public support. Is he serious? To judge by what he says, the answer is an incredulous no. To judge by what he seems ready to do, it may be a hopeful yes.

On Thursday, Mr. Reagan expanded on what he wants to accomplish "with you and for you over the next two years." He cited his Strategic Defense Initiative, a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget, and anti-abortion legislation. That would be a dispiriting list if only because the budget and abortion items are empty sloganeering.

Probably his most urgent task is to demonstrate respect for law in the foreign affairs arena,

and here the President's pledges offer an encouraging start. His Administration has not always obeyed the letter and spirit of the law concerning Congressional consultation; it will now be hard not to.

Mr. Reagan's missile defense initiative, while founded in hyperbole, has probably prompted Soviet flexibility on arms control. The news of Secretary of State Shultz' mission to Moscow in April stirs hope that Mr. Reagan may yet find it possible, after the Reykjavik wreckage, to use his space-based defense scheme as a bargaining counter to negotiate reductions in nuclear weapons.

Will he also be able to negotiate reductions, with Congress, in the awesome budget deficit? Not if he keeps insisting on the gimmick of a balanced budget amendment and not if he keeps pretending he believes the low deficit figures in his new budget. Congressional Democrats are now soberly willing to consider new taxes; will the President go along and become fiscally responsible, finally?

Congressional Democrats, disposed to perilous protectionism, won't show similar responsibility on trade unless the President leads. He has sent Congress an appealing package of proposals to enhance American competitiveness in world trade. What remains to be seen is how much he cares.

No legislation is needed to heal a grievous gap plain since the first days of the 1980 campaign: the need to demonstrate respect, and concern, for black Americans. The hostile chill they feel troubles Republicans and Democrats. For a President who wants to accomplish a great deal "with you and for you over the next two years," racial and social justice would be a splendid place to start.

Arms control, fiscal responsibility and social justice is not a liberal or a conservative but a realistic agenda. Can it be realized? If so, the President would make his third term the one to remember.

Let Soviet Jews Decide

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir wants the United States to stop giving special refugee status to Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union. At first glance, his reasons seem sensible. It would be politically easier for Soviet authorities to open the gates if Soviet Jews were headed for their presumed homeland. But past Soviet behavior belies this need for fig leaves. If the Kremlin wants to let Jews out, it knows how to open the doors without any fuss over their eventual destination.

The real effect of changing U.S. policy would be to make it harder for departing Soviet Jews to go anywhere but Israel. Mr. Shamir contends that's fine because Israel needs immigrants. But Jewish organizations in the United States rightly object to Mr. Shamir's effort to persuade Americans to change their traditions to suit Israel's interests. Soviet Jews ought to decide where they want to go for themselves.

For the moment, the debate is academic. From a peak of 51,320 in 1979, the exodus of Soviet Jews has plunged to a meager 914 in 1986. Persistent rumors of liberalization have proved as barren as recent "reforms" in emigration policies. In practice, these make it harder for Soviet Jews to leave. Yet Moscow has opened the doors before to win good will and may do so again.

Soviet law and Israeli policy treat being Jewish as an individual's primary attribute. Under Soviet law, Jewishness is deemed a nationality and is so

listed on identity papers. People of no other religion are thus stigmatized. In a similar vein, Israeli law and policy hold Israel to be a Soviet Jew's only true homeland. Yet the majority of departing Soviet Jews have chosen to go to the United States.

For Israel, this has meant embarrassment and the loss of much-needed infusions of population. Hence Mr. Shamir recently asked Secretary of State Shultz to deny refugee status to Soviet Jews. That would mean they could come to the United States only as immigrants from Israel, subject to Israel's quota.

It's a bad idea. As a practical matter, relatives of 200,000 Soviet Jews already in this country would face a new obstacle to family reunification — the long waiting line in Israel. There's something distasteful about suggesting that America bend its laws and traditions to spare Israel the discomfort of seeing Soviet Jews settle elsewhere.

From Israel's own vantage, it's a dubious idea to appear to validate the Soviet belief that Jews are not adherents of a religion but members of an indigestible minority with dual loyalties, the classic equation of classic anti-Semitism.

Mr. Shamir's timing is, to put it gently, clumsy, coming smack on the heels of Israeli involvement in the Iran-contra affair and the Pollard spy trial. As Israel summons up the courage to acknowledge mistakes on these matters, it would be wise to do so on the emigration of Soviet Jews as well.

Second Act

In his notes for "The Last Tycoon," F. Scott Fitzgerald made a singularly chilling statement: "There are no second acts in American lives." Anyone reading it, facing it — and needing a brace — has only to look to the career of Millicent Fenwick, who is leaving her job as the United States ambassador to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization.

Mrs. Fenwick, who'd been a model and a fashion magazine editor, was one year shy of the age by which most Americans have retired when she ran for Congress in 1974. Once elected to the House of Representatives, she didn't stop running. In fact, she galloped. In eight years in Congress, Mrs. Fenwick wrote the bill creating the commission that monitors the 1975 Helsinki agreement, supported the food stamp program and pushed for the compensation of asbestos-disabled workers. Her interests were diverse; her energy, spectacular.

Politics put Millicent Fenwick in the spotlight — but one doubts she'd ever have been lost in the crowd. She is very tall, very thin and very quick with a quip. Lacey Davenport, her simulacrum in "Donesbury," has never equaled Mrs. Fenwick's own response to an anti-E.R.A. legislator who said "I always thought women were meant to be kissable, cuddly and sweet-smelling." She replied, "That's what I thought of men, and I hope you haven't been disappointed as many times as I have."

Asked in 1982 what she'd do if she lost her run for the Senate (she did), Mrs. Fenwick said: "You know what I say to defeat? So what?" Clearly, Mrs. Fenwick says "So what?" to age as well.

Uninspired Judging

Four years ago Brevard Hand, a Federal district judge in Mobile, Ala., held that the First Amendment's protections for religious liberty did not apply to the states. So Alabama, if it chose, could establish a state religion. Predictably, the Supreme Court reversed him on that point, unanimously, and struck down a school prayer composed by the governor and a "moment of silence" law intended as prayer. Judge Hand threatened at the time that if reversed, he might outlaw textbooks he deemed hostile to religion. Now he's done just that. His verbose, 111-page

Topics of The Times

opinion makes no more constitutional sense than his earlier judgments but its effect is, at least temporarily, more serious. Alabama authorities have already started to remove schoolbooks the judge found inspired by "secular humanism." The judge is right when he says a textbook that fails to make clear that the Pilgrims were religious is a deficient textbook. He's remarkably misguided when he says such a textbook amounts to an unconstitutional promotion of the secular humanist "religion."

The judge's office says he is a distant relative of the revered Judge Learned Hand, a relationship otherwise difficult to divine. There used to be a saying on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, where Learned Hand and his cousin Augustus sat for many years, "Quote Learned but follow Gus." To which might now be added: reverse Brevard.

Recipe for Guesswork

At 2 A.M. a week ago Friday, New York City's Board of Estimate succumbed to its dream, a world in which it will never be blamed for rent increases because they won't happen.

Board members refused to appropriate \$188,000 for the 1987 survey of prices of labor, supplies, taxes, insurance and other apartment house necessities. The survey provides the only credible key to the direction and degree of price movements. The Rent Guidelines Board has used it for 17 years in deciding on fair limits for stabilized rent apartments where leases expire during the subsequent year. Without the survey, the Board of Estimate seems to hope that the Rent Guidelines Board won't be able to order increases. That's wrong. Increases will be based on guesswork, open to endless angry challenges.

There's no need for rent increases, some board members argued, forgetting that taxes, insurance, labor and supplies have risen in the two years since leases were signed. Make owners open their books, other members insisted, as if there are enough accountants in all the United States to inspect the books and adjudicate rents in 40,000 different buildings.

The survey has provided rough justice since 1970; no other system can do more. There's still time for the Board of Estimate to wake up and commit the \$188,000 so that the guidelines board can meet its June 30 deadline.

Letters

Do We Want a New Reagan but the Old Policies?

To the Editor:

Now that the Tower Commission has faulted President Reagan for inattentive, negligent leadership, it would be nice to hope that our troubles were over. But consider a newly determined President taking charge with strong, attentive leadership — but still in pursuit of the same Reagan policies, such as support for the contra rebels in disregard of the ruling of the International Court of Justice; nuclear testing while the Soviet Union asks for a joint moratorium; obsession with the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars") that spoils the chance to end the nuclear arms race.

Strong leadership for such policies cannot restore the honor and prestige of the Presidency and nation. The best hope is determined resistance and constructive alternatives from Congress and a clean sweep in the 1988 elections.

WILLIAM ALLEN
Stuart, Fla., Feb. 27, 1987

A Ceremonial Leader

To the Editor:

While everyone has been quick to heap abuse on Donald T. Reagan, it should be remembered that the White House chief of staff could not have acted so imperiously, nor other Cabinet officers so detachedly, if the

President had held the reins of authority tighter, as he was elected to do. Ronald Reagan is a ceremonial leader who would function ideally in a country that had a presidential figurehead to supply the right tone and a prime minister to do the real work.

Mr. Reagan won office over more qualified candidates because he has an amiable nature, a comforting optimism and a talent for looking and sounding impressive on television, and for providing Americans with a flattering image of themselves. But style is a poor substitute for substance, as perhaps the American voter has discovered.

MILDRED KUNER
New York, Feb. 28, 1987

Aug. 8, 1985 Recalled

To the Editor:

President Reagan's challenge, "Everybody who can remember what they were doing on Aug. 8, 1985, raise your hand" (front page, Feb. 25), addresses the well-known psychological question of memory for real-life episodes.

In general, people find such a task difficult at first, but gradually are capable of reconstructing a detailed account based on temporal landmarks, e.g., that the date was the second Thursday of the month or per-

Why No Women in Recent Public Scandals

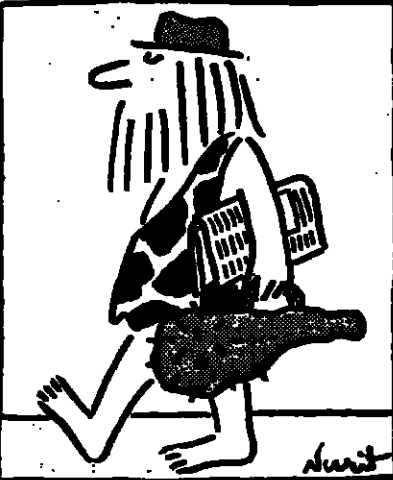
To the Editor:

"Women have not played a significant role in a major scandal in recent years," Lois and Heather Evans say of insider trading collusion (Op-Ed, Feb. 21). However, they take the position that it is primarily the lack of access to locker room interaction on Wall Street, as well as a requirement by men that women in business be nonaggressive and modest, that explains the apparent lack of corruption among businesswomen.

An article by Bella Abzug and Mim Keller (Op-Ed, Dec. 20) notes the lack of women involved in the Iran-contra arms scandal and other current examples of corrupt political behavior by the "white male power elite." In this case, the authors describe but do not offer possible explanations.

Would women be as corrupt, aggressive and exclusive as men if given the opportunity? I think not. I think the issue is one of social conditioning, heredity and phylogenetics. That is, men are unwilling or unable to give up a role, a way of behaving, that was once necessary. In a primitive world, men were required to be aggressive hunters and fighters to feed and protect their families. This is no longer true.

We are evolving into a cerebral species, with computers and machines to labor for us and protect us. The primitive, physical man is obsolete (so the great need for sports), but modern man has not adapted. So, he



creates conflict with other men to maintain the need to fight and defend, and preserve his ancient role.

Women, on the other hand, have come of age in the 20th century. Their preference for negotiation over fighting, their abhorrence of violence, their inclination to compassion and their lack of inclination to locker-room corruption are not signs of weakness, but the qualities needed for leadership in the 21st century. Perhaps the reason for women to move into positions of power, if we are to survive and progress, is that women don't have to prove they're men.

PETER V. LOFFREDO
New York, Feb. 21, 1987

High Speeds Shorten the Life of Auto Engines

To the Editor:

A serious omission in the continuing discussion about raising the speed limit from 55 miles per hour is the effect of speed on the life span of an automobile engine.

When a car is traveling at 35 miles an hour it uses a certain quantity of fuel, which burns at a certain temperature inside the engine cylinder. When the car doubles its speed, the engine turns twice as fast, but the quantity of fuel that is burned more than doubles. Depending on the air resistance of the car, the fuel consumed may be more or less, triple.

The water temperature gauge on the dashboard will not show it, but the temperature at the cylinder wall will increase tremendously. The lubricating oil, which may be quite stable at normal operating temperatures, will be burned off the walls of the cylinder at the higher operating speeds because of the resultant higher operating temperatures.

Many motorists will have noticed that their cars, which will consume almost no oil in months of moderate city driving, will gulp an extra quart

or two on trips of a few hundred miles — and at speeds not exceeding the speed limit.

The principle involved is similar to that of turning up the fire on the stove when frying some food. At some point the oil no longer cooks — it burns. And the oil that remains in the crankcase of a racing engine is not the same oil that was put into it when the engine was cold. The oil that remains does not lubricate the rest of the engine too well.

For those for whom time is money, and the consumption of automobile engines is another means to that end, the shortened life of the engine simply means trading in their automobile for a new one a little sooner. But for those of us who may have to make our cars last as long as possible, or for those who take pride in the mechanical integrity of their machines, a 70- or 80-mile-an-hour speed limit will be ignored.

Be warned. Speed limits may change, but many drivers will still be plodding along at 55 miles an hour, and liking it.

PHILIP SHAPIRO
Brooklyn, March 1, 1987

We Need Evacuation Plans for Other Risks Than Nuclear Plants

To the Editor:

You are right to call for a reinstatement of the authority of the Federal Government over emergency planning ("Federal Power Over Nuclear Power," editorial, Feb. 9). But there is another issue at stake, and that is the incredible inconsistency in the furor surrounding the establishment of evacuation plans for nuclear plants, but not for any other facilities of comparable risk.

Accidents involving major chemical facilities, gas and oil storage sites, and dams, to mention only a few, pose risks similar to, and often greater than, nuclear power plants. In another example, the much heralded high-tech activities for semiconductor production (often billed, ironically, as a clean technology) involve storage of large quantities of extremely toxic chemicals, which, in the event of accident or earthquake, could lead to disaster, according to a report from California (news story, Feb. 8).

Nuclear power plants do not pose unique risks either in probability or potential impact. Bhopal — far more serious in its impact than Chernobyl — amply illustrates that. But there are domestic examples as well.

In 1976, the Grand Teton Dam failure was, fortunately, limited in impact to fewer than a dozen fatalities (although more than \$500 million in damages was claimed). A dam failure in Italy killed more than 2,000, and there are several dams in the United States that put at risk hundreds of thousands of people.

Even the prosaic railroad industry poses significant risks in the transport of hazardous materials, with accidents commonly leading to sudden evacuations. For example, more than 250,000 people were evacuated from a Toronto

suburb a few years ago because of a chlorine rail-car derailment.

There are very good reasons for a state government to facilitate the establishment of sensible and effective emergency plans for all types of facilities and accidents. In seeking to eliminate nuclear plants by setting impossible standards for emergency preparedness, what states ignore is that such plans can serve as models for other facilities. A number of utility nuclear emergency plans have already been implemented to respond to situations entirely unrelated to the power plant.

GILBERT BROWN
Lowell, Mass., Feb. 24, 1987

The writer is a professor in the University of Lowell College of Engineering.



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America Takes The Fifth

WASHINGTON
Everything has been examined now about what happened to the U.S. Government except the role of the American people. We have blamed everybody but ourselves. It's almost as if the American people had taken the Fifth Amendment or been granted immunity from explaining why they elected Ronald Reagan in the first place.

We couldn't really say he deceived us. The Tower Commission complained about his ignorance of the facts, his carelessness with the truth, his excessive reliance on subordinates, but we knew all that back when he was Governor of California.

He was the good-looking, easy-talking type out of Hollywood every mother warned her daughter to avoid — irresponsible but irresistible. We didn't really elect him but fell in love with him.

He followed every old movie script to the letter. He sold us the Brooklyn Bridge in his first term, and took us to the stars in his second. He hawked the family jewels and mortgaged the old house, and got money the new-fashioned way — he borrowed it.

But nothing broke the spell. We knew he couldn't balance the budget by cutting taxes, or get us peace and prosperity with a credit card, but it was such a happy idea, and he was such a nice man, and it made us feel so good.

It wasn't until he was discovered selling guns backstage to the terrorists in Iran, of all people, that we woke up at the beginning of the last act, stunned by the crash.

How could it have happened? What did the American people know and when did they know it? They knew everything from the start and did nothing about it. They like him because they're like him: well-meaning, optimistic, credulous, stubborn and a little bit dumb.

It's not new either. We knew the Japanese wouldn't dare attack us at Pearl Harbor; that the Chinese wouldn't cross the Yalu when MacArthur went beyond the 38th parallel in Korea; that we could rout the Cubans at the Bay of Pigs; that the North Vietnamese would run away when they saw our tanks and planes; that Beirut would settle down when the Marines landed; and with our money and our guns the "freedom fighters" would triumph in Nicaragua.

We knew too that what is popular is not always right; that we tolerated slavery for a hundred years and had to fight a civil war to get rid of it; that winning an election is not the same as governing a nation, and that sometimes, as Leo Durocher said, "Nice guys finish last."

We still don't know who went South with Colonel North's money, or who those "moderates" were who were supposed to swap hostages for guns in Iran, but we know governments often drift into trouble and that there's enough blame around now to cover us all, including the people.

We have another election coming up, however, and it will break our hearts if we don't learn the lessons of these recent events.

"We must adopt the habit," Walter Lippmann wrote over 40 years ago, "of thinking as plainly about the

What the people knew about Reagan, and when they knew it.

sovereign people as we do about the politicians they elect.

"It will not do to think poorly of the politicians and to talk with bated breath about the voters. No more than the kings before them should the people be hedged with divinity. Like all princes and rulers, they are ill served by flattery and adulation."

This suggests not only taking a different look at our officials but at ourselves in the 200th year of the Constitution. Our low voting record is an acknowledged disgrace, and the method of choosing and nominating candidates is little more than a television show.

It will probably be even worse in 1988 when the candidates are flying around 13 states on Super Tuesday, appealing to local prejudices instead of the national interest.

We will need to know far more this time about the character and age and health of the candidates, and about the people they propose for their cabinets and staff.

This will or should mean earlier examination of the personal and political record and more direct debates between the nominees without the intrusion of reporters. In short, more attention by the people at the beginning of the election process rather than at the end.

For if we didn't know before, we should know now that history means something, that scandals don't just happen by accident but have deep roots, and that governments and even civilizations have the same fragility as a life.

By Edward N. Costikyan

Mario Cuomo's decision not to become a Presidential candidate has given the press a field day for articles that ask, "Why?" The press should be grateful to the New York Governor. He has provided an opportunity for column after column containing speculative analysis and "psychoanalysis" of his motives. Without pretending to be a gubernatorial confidant, which I am not, it seems plain that the explanation for the Governor's nonentry into the Democratic primary circus is very simple.

It is equally plain that Governor Cuomo could well emerge as the Democratic Presidential nominee — after having done none of the standard things to achieve the nomination.

The primary-election system is designed to exclude from the race any incumbent who has any significant government responsibilities that require any significant attention. This design is particularly directed at incumbent governors. Since the modern Presidential primary was invented in 1972, no Democratic governor could or has participated.

Why? The reason is time — or lack of it. No sitting governors, for example, have been able to find the time required to round up a cadre of hardcore supporters who in turn could go out and find a plurality of the 10,000 activists who vote in the Iowa caucuses. Nor have they been able to find the time to line up those aficionados of the political process who surface

Edward N. Costikyan, a New York lawyer, has long been active in Democratic Party politics.

Don't Count Cuomo Out

every four years in New Hampshire, advertising their expertise and availability to deliver New Hampshire voters. Nor has any sitting governor had the opportunity to trudge from state to state for two full years before the event, seeking the support of the latest generation of zealots who make the Democratic primary system work and who reap its rewards.

To win Iowa, Mr. Cuomo would be required to slither into the state at regular intervals to compete with other candidates for the handful of bodies who determine the winner. This he does not have time to do. Nor could he hike up and down Mount Washington or visit Tuckerman's Ravine or return again and again to the one or two places perceived to be the pivot points in any New Hampshire campaign.

Former governors, such as Jimmy Carter (between 1974 and 1976) and Arizona's Bruce Babbitt (who retired in 1986 and has been pointing ever since to 1988), have the time to do that, and they do it. They have no conflicting obligations. Senators and Congressmen — Morris K. Udall in 1976, Edward M. Kennedy in 1980, Ernest F. Hollings and Gary Hart in 1984, Richard A. Gephardt and who knows who else in 1987 and 1988 — can spare the time from their collegial and undemanding legislative duties to retail their charms across the country. Incumbent governors cannot.

I believe Mr. Cuomo is smart enough to recognize this reality. But that does not mean, in my judgment, that he cannot or will not become the Democratic candidate in 1988. My scenario rests on the premise that this dreadful political process will correct itself, because political pro-

cesses have the capacity for self-correction.

I see Iowa being won by Gary Hart or by one of the pleasant, hard-working, personable candidates of no particular stature who will exploit the rather small percentage of Iowans who participate in the Democratic caucuses. The press, well aware of the dangers of front-runners, will of course proclaim the one who comes in second as the big winner.

My crystal ball also suggests that Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts will win the New Hampshire primary, whether or not he becomes

West: Mr. Cuomo winning, certainly, as a favorite son in New York if he allows his name to go in; Senator Bill Bradley, likewise in New Jersey; Mr. Dukakis, ditto in Massachusetts; Senator Sam Nunn picking up some Southern support; Mr. Babbitt with a little out West, a little here and a little there — maybe No. 2 in Iowa and one of the New England states.

And then the convention! It might, for the first time since 1968, be forced to act like the deliberative body it is supposed to be. There the delegates will be, without a clear winner from the primaries, without the traditional leaders who once helped to shape consensus (because they no longer are around), without the experience that enabled earlier conventions in this century to pick Woodrow Wilson and Al Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman and John F. Kennedy. The delegates, under the glare of television, will be forced to perform the convention's historic but long dormant duty: to pick the best candidate for the office.

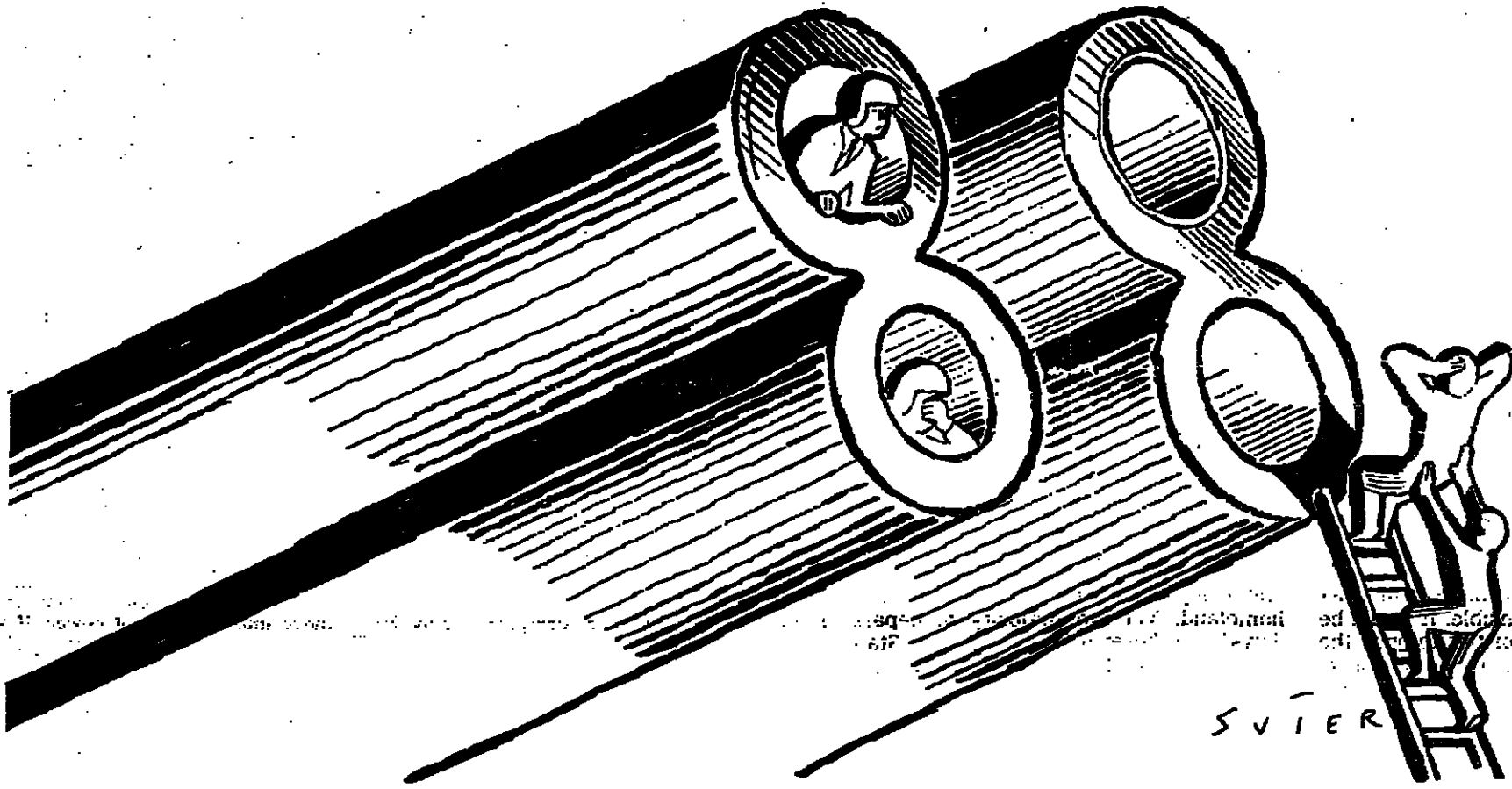
The pressure to choose a candidate capable of governing instead of a Reagan-type personality will be particularly strong in light of what is happening and will be happening for the next 12 months in Washington as it becomes clearer that the clothes have no emperor — that the rules of the game, which place a premium on show biz-types, are likely to change.

In such a convention, Messrs. Cuomo, Bradley, Dukakis, Nunn and others who have forewarned and foregone the crazy primary process will be back in contention. Such a convention might be able to nominate a candidate who can win and then govern. Let us hope so.

Even though he had good reasons not to run.

a candidate. There is a precedent. Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, a noncandidate, walked off with New Hampshire on a write-in vote in the Republican primary in 1964. I see Vermont and Maine, or at least one of them, likely to follow New Hampshire's lead. I see Super Tuesday in the South producing two or three winners, not one clear winner, and I think that the winners in the South are likely to be people other than those who have won in the Northern states.

I confess that I hope to see no clear winner in the remaining primaries: Mr. Hart triumphing, perhaps, in the



How to Pick Our Presidents

By James David Barber

DURHAM, N.C. — Today's starkest irony is the gap between reporting the President we've got and the Presidents-to-be.

All sorts of newly wise observers — out to lunch for six years — now tell us that Ronald Reagan is not in charge, independent and factual, but rather is a President who has delegated the Presidency, who has bought whatever scripts his aides have handed him and who could not have cared less whether he was speaking fact or fiction. True, but late. Where were these pundits when we needed them, back when we the people were trying to figure out who ought to be President?

There are those who blame the modern Presidency for the failure of modern Presidents. From Lyndon B. Johnson's deadly obsession with Vietnam to Mr. Reagan's loose-jointed side-step from what he swore to do at

James David Barber, professor of political science at Duke University, is author of several books on the Presidency.

The question is character, not issues.

his Inauguration — to "take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed" — Presidents have disappointed us.

Has this been due to the office or the man? What we keep forgetting is that the man makes the office. Within very large limits, the President can organize his system as he wants to — and that is what each one has done. It was Mr. Reagan's responsibility to shape and populate the White House team. Who the staff members were and what they did were up to him, not to some abstract "Presidency."

Which brings the problem back to the character, world view and style of the President and the overriding importance of assessing those qualities before we pick the next one. The task is not without its difficulties. Political predictions are risky and uncertain.

But figuring out how a President will apply in the White House the political habits he has been operating with for decades is not that hard.

In the fall of 1980, I described Mr. Reagan as a passive-positive type — that is, a person who exudes optimism but puts out little energy. I argued that this was the correct reason to worry about him — not his supposed ideology or stands on the issues of the day. The danger of the Reagan type in the Presidency, I said, "is that he will cave in to pressure"; that "tragedy for the passive-positive type flows from his inordinate need to hang on to friends as he drifts toward disaster." The danger in Mr. Reagan, in short, was not that he would generate some massive lurch to the right but that his friends would do him in.

Such rough predictions do not require psychoanalysis or other mysterious methods. What they do require is an insistence that we bring to bear Presidential criteria when we pick a President, based on straightforward understanding of what a President has to do and how similar characters in that office have met their challenges. The Reagan debacle, from the "effectiveness" which

gave us history's biggest deficit to the collapse of American political integrity in the world scene, ought to underline that need.

Yet in the back pages of the newspapers and magazines, stories about "Campaign '88" are now appearing. And here we go again. Forget Presidential qualifications. Instead, how is he doing in the polls? How's his image-making going? What are his one-liners and his taste in Iowa pizza? Will he titillate teen-agers in New Hampshire as he traipses about from speech to speech? And supposedly most important, how will he do in the next primary compared with how folks now think he will do?

In short, we are supposed to set aside what we now know about Presidents in office and focus instead on the fun and games of campaign politics. That is how we have wound up again and again with Presidents who have mastered campaigning but brought into the very center of the Government a fatally flawed set of political habits. One wonders all over again: When will we ever learn to evaluate Presidents, not after they have nearly done us in but before they win the job?

ON MY MIND A. M. Rosenthal

Are They More Than Contras?

MIAMI
Six months, not much more. The political men here who represent Nicaraguan rebel troops in the field disagree about a lot of things. But they do say, quite separately, that they have about six months to show whether they can change from a collection of competing groups into a unified movement capable of challenging Sandinista control of their country.

The people they are trying to show are Americans, members of Congress. The Nicaraguan rebels are not ashamed of it.

To them, reality is that the Sandinistas depend on Soviet funding and arms and they on American. They know they have been hurt hard by the belief in the United States that Oliver North gave them money from the profits of peddling arms to Iran. They all insist they never got the money from the Iranian deal.

If they had, they would not have regarded it as sinful. Tracking down the source of money from abroad was not one of their top priorities.

"When you are dying of thirst and somebody gives you a drink, you don't ask if it's Schweppes or Perrier."

That's a favorite saying of Adolfo Calero, a big, burly man who resigned recently from the three-man rebel political directorate. It was part of complex political struggles he hopes will broaden the directorate and bring him back, possibly at the top. He said he had just assumed that if the President of the United States wanted to fight the Sandinistas Mr. Reagan would have access to funds. Public funding was best but if it had to be private or secret, that was not a great concern compared with survival.

But the rebel leaders know Americans do care and that getting the Congressional funding that is life or death to them is now vastly more difficult.

Arturo Cruz, a former member of the Sandinista junta and now a rebel leader, made a weary attempt at figuring out the odds. "On a scale of one to one hundred, what would you say?" he asked, and answered himself. "I would say five."

Some of the rebel political leaders in Miami were part of the struggle against the dictator Somoza but did not trust the Sandinistas from the beginning. Mr. Calero was one of those, proud of it, and may have the biggest rebel following.

Then there are men like Mr. Cruz, a banker in the Somoza days. He fought the dictator until Somoza was overthrown in 1979. Mr. Cruz believed the Sandinistas would preserve the variety within the revolutionary movement that defeated Somoza and of which the Sandinistas were part. He joined the first Sandinista junta.

He campaigned for them among businessmen in Nicaragua and abroad until he decided the Sandinistas were not interested in democratic variety but Marxism without any variety at all. He seems tired now and says all he wants to do is get out as soon as possible and write a book.

Further left, are men like Alfredo Cesar. We talked in a Miami coffee shop and realized we had met before — five years ago in Managua. He had been with the Sandinistas through the fight against Somoza and by then, in his mid-30's, he was president of the

Time to show is running short in Miami.

Central Bank, sending foreigners away full of admiration for Sandinista talent. He got out, convinced the Sandinistas had betrayed the revolution against one dictatorship to build another.

Now he fights the Sandinistas not only in Miami and in Central America but at meetings of European and third world Socialists, where he and Sandinistas sit stonily near each other.

Quite different men. What unites them is the conviction they are not counterrevolutionaries — "contras," originally a Sandinista epithet — but a movement carrying out its own revolution against a group that captured a national triumph over Somoza as Castro swallowed the anti-Batista victory and Lenin's Bolsheviks seized the revolt against the czars.

James LeMoyné's carefully reported, sensitive accounts in The Times of rebel troops inside Nicaragua indicate growing self-confidence and skill. In Miami, the political representatives of those troops know that most Americans regard their movement with distaste or contempt and believe it is splintered, infected with Somocistas, C.I.A.-controlled and incapable of bringing anything but bloodshed to Nicaragua.

As long as so many Americans regard them as ragtag and tainted, the rebel movement seems doomed. Its leaders say that to persuade Congress otherwise, they have to unite militarily, choose a coherent political leadership and become strong enough either to fight effectively or negotiate effectively.

There is division on which should come first. There is no division about the fact that there is very little time to persuade Congress they are members of a new Nicaraguan revolution, not just contras.

Seeds, Like Hope, Spring Eternal

By Jerry Klein

PEORIA, ILL. — Once again, the W. Atlee Burpee Company has worked its subtle persuasion on my will and imagination, to say nothing of my checkbook. My order for this summer's garden is being borne to the firm's headquarters as if on the wings of Mercury. And, yes, I am excited. For there is something uplifting in this seasonal ritual. If hope springs eternal in the heart of man, buying seeds remains one of its most enduring expressions.

A few evenings ago, my imagination bolted as I was bent over those glowing advertisements for succulent beans, sweet melons ripening in the sun, Golden Cross bantam whispering in July's slow wind. I envisioned an idyll of blue-ribbon vegetables, beaded with dew, being borne to the larder by a rustic couple clad in overalls and sunbonnet. Contemplation of the wealth of produce that flows from late spring into early frost conjures up ancient rhythms, the sowing and harvest, being at one with the earth — all

Jerry Klein writes for The Peoria Journal Star.

that good stuff.

But as I completed my order for beans, corn, lettuce, beets, carrots, melons, squash, spinach, peas and cucumbers, the realization dawned that the picture of happy gardeners trundling in their crops is a trifle idealized. Right now, our garden is a distressing sight. Scarred by rivulets and gullies, it looks like the western front. There are remains of cornstalks and squash vines along with dried weeds and grasses. Waiting beneath the surface are more slumbering bugs and unhatched larva than anyone can number.

Then I remembered the work involved in coaxing a crop of any kind from this slag. It begins in late March when I wrestle the ancient Rototiller out of the garage and attempt to revive its engine. It can turn clay clods into semi-clods, and, with repeated passages, semi-clods into hemi-demi-semi-clods. I have learned not to expect anything resembling a rich, deep, loam.

Then with the rudimentary hoe, I scratch out small furrows and place the seeds at proper intervals in the rows. Then I will be unable to stand up straight. This, unfortunately, is not a once-a-season job: it must be repeated with everything from the early peas and spinach

through onions, beets, corn, beans and squash. Still, if one could stand back at this point and await the miraculous process from sprout to full ear, it would all be relatively easy. But the real adversity arises with the weeds, which grow twice as fast and three times as high as any intended crop.

But seed catalogues show no such labors, nor do they suggest that all this weeding and hoeing often is undertaken by some reeling, miserable wretch, perspiration running into his eyes while he is surrounded by clouds of gnats, beetles and flies.

Why, one may well ask, does anyone go through all this? Maybe it is merely some strange, atavistic urging. Maybe it is true that vegetables do taste much better fresh from the garden. Or maybe it is that no real rewards are possible without an enormous amount of pain, exertion and frustration. Whatever the explanation, I have been had once again. That Burpee catalogue looks so good that I will gladly become a serf for the promise of that glorious moment of harvest. It is of such stuff that dreams (and fools) are made.

'Les Misérables': Hunter and Hunted

By JEREMY GERARD

The scene was macabre: on the stage of the Broadway Theater, two massive towers made of junk moved on tracks toward and then away from each other, a hulking, oddly graceful dance. In the pit, the orchestra was rehearsing the storming of the barricade scene — a firing of muskets and thunderous explosions and music that had the unmistakable chill of an accompaniment to catastrophe.

In the theater's near-empty auditorium, the directors Trevor Nunn and John Caird were talking about faith, redemption and Victor Hugo, their observations driven home by gunshots and attenuated to the point of bulging neck veins. Their discussion was inspired by "Les Misérables," the rock opera based on Hugo's 125-year-old story of two men: Jean Valjean, jailed for 19 years for stealing a loaf of bread, and Javert, the police inspector who pursues Valjean from the provinces to the streets and through the sewers of Paris in the belief that once an outlaw, ever an outlaw.

In bringing "Les Misérables" to the British and then the American stage, the directors had decided early on to make Javert a more formidable character — a hunter in the relentless pursuit of his quarry — than he had been in the original French staging.

"Javert's credo is that if you are born criminal, it is part of God's plan. You cannot be saved, there can be nothing in your nature that can ever save you," Mr. Nunn screamed through the noise of battle. "And if it looks as if there's something in your nature that would redeem you from that state, it's play-acting, it's hypocrisy. Javert constantly says to Valjean, 'I know you. I know who you are.'" Roar of cannon fire.

The "Les Misérables" that will open Thursday at the Broadway Theater is substantially different from the musical that Paris audiences saw seven years ago, and even from the one that has been running on London's West End since late 1985. It's likely to provoke many rumination similar to Mr. Nunn's, for in contrast to the typical process of condensing a new show "Les Misérables" was expanded, with most of the production changes devoted to a single purpose: Set Javert's pursuit of Valjean in higher relief against the

secondary characters and events, and the show will be more faithful to the spirit of the novel — not to mention more compelling theater.

"Reading the book," said Claude-Michel Schönberg, who composed the score, "the chase is the engine."

This is not to suggest that "Les Mi-

France, from the prison galleys at Toulon to Paris under the restored Bourbon monarchy — 15 distinct settings in all. For "Les Misérables" is no cat-and-mouse game. Javert's pursuit of Valjean is stretched over a decade and a half of tumultuous French history leading to the insur-

lyricist, was hired to translate the score written by Alain Boublil and Jean-Marc Natel and composed by Mr. Schönberg, and to collaborate with Messrs. Boublil and Schönberg on filling in the sketchy character of Javert and creating new scenes.

The discussions about Javert that took place among the directors, writers and composer would affect every aspect of the production, from John Napier's settings to the improvisational work with which the directors began rehearsing the 36-member company so that they could develop some understanding of the roiling moral forces in Hugo's tale.

Creating the look of the show was



Colm Wilkinson, left, as Jean Valjean, and Terrance Mann as Javert in "Les Misérables," which opens Thursday on Broadway.

serables" has shortchanged the meticulously intertwined plots that give the novel its narrative sprawl. The musical makes the most of the death of the ruined factory worker Fantine and of Jean Valjean's enduring guardianship of her daughter Cosette; the production spares no effort in filling the stage with 19th-century

recreation of 1832.

The task of staging the English-language productions went to Mr. Nunn and Mr. Caird, who are co-artistic director and associate director, respectively, of the Royal Shakespeare Company and arguably the busiest theater directors in the world today. Herbert Kretzmer, a journalist and

one of the first tasks aimed at emphasizing Javert's pursuit of Valjean. "It was clearly the intention when we first talked," Mr. Napier said, in an interview on the stage of the Broadway, "to have the chase as the central theme." Though audiences will likely remember the immense barricade thrown up against the king's

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troops that dominates the show's biggest scene, other scenes are indicated simply, with a single set piece coming around on a huge revolve that brings one setting in as another disappears.

"Very early on, John and I said to Claude-Michel and Alain that we wanted a number of sections from Hugo's original to become a part of the score," Mr. Nunn said, "because the score dealt insufficiently with that obsessive theme, of one man who perceives criminality in another, who perceives life in a very simplistic way: that those who cannot be redeemed must be hunted down and rooted out. Javert's personal obsession takes him over to the point where he dedicates his life to finding one man because it represents to him what his life is about, what society is about."

One reason the original version of the musical could be telescoped (it ran about two hours, while the English adaptation runs over three) is that Hugo's characters — the decent Valjean, the relentless Javert, the pitiable Fantine, the faithful Cosette, — have a nearly mythic familiarity to the French; the story could be told in a kind of theatrical shorthand. Also, many in the French audience had a memory of the Occupation; in the London audience, of the Blitz — a memory, that is to say, of a life not so far removed from Hugo's Paris, where individual and group morality were constantly challenged.

"The Second World War was a central event for many in the audience," Mr. Kretzmer said last week in a telephone interview from London. There is in the European audience, he explained, a collective memory of famous, as well as unknown heroes. "There were giants whose moral consistency in the face of implacable evil made them heroic. Heroes exist in individual terms. In 'Les Misérables,' Javert sacrifices himself, as everyone else in the play sacrifices himself."

A Javert of stature equal to Valjean was not, the directors quickly discovered, what audiences expect. "A lot of people who come to see the musical believe at first blush that we have done something to soften Javert," Mr. Nunn said, "that Javert is surely a monster, a grotesque, and that we have sought to justify him in some way. Of course, we haven't. We've faithfully followed Hugo, who makes it clear that Javert's behavior, from his own perspective, is the behavior

of an utterly righteous and inspired man."

"In order to have a chase, you've got to have two people," Mr. Caird said. "One chasing and one being chased." During the initial rehearsals for the American staging, the directors trained their sights on Terrance Mann, who would play the expanded role of Javert.

"Trevor and John kept creating limitations for me," said Mr. Mann. "I would ask, 'Can I touch this person, can I grab that whore?' They would say, 'No, you can't touch,' which got me frustrated, which got me angry — until I realized that those were the choices of the character, frustration and limitation. And from the book, you get Javert's clarity about law and order, about God. The fact that you can never waver. You take good Christian, humanitarian values and take them to an obsession. Hugo said that there are two types of people who are always outside the society — the criminal and the policeman."

"There are many times where Hugo skips the real investigation of Javert," said Mr. Caird. "One of the main themes of the novel and the musical is, 'What is man's relationship to authority, to order?' And to truly reflect a sense of human order, you have to have a character who believes in order, in authority. Therefore, writing up the character of Javert was essential to our purposes. He's not just an archetype. He's morally and intellectually someone to be reckoned with."

Actually, Javert may not have been regarded quite so warmly by his creator, who introduced him in the following passage: "It will be easily understood that Javert was the terror of all that class which the annual statistics of the Minister of Justice include under the heading: *People without a fixed abode*. To speak the name of Javert would put all such to flight; the face of Javert petrified them." But Javert terrified, Mr. Nunn said, not because he was a scoundrel but because for him, Jean Valjean embodied the double entendre of the novel's title, which means both "the poor" and "the bad." Jean Valjean was a threat to that belief.

"He doesn't behave in a malign way," Mr. Nunn said of Javert, "doesn't wake up in the morning and say, 'How can I torment the world today?' He says, 'How can I make a better world?'"

Patient: Huston. Rx: Film

By ALJEAN HARMETZ

THE RANCH HOUSE INN IS separated from the freeway by a low wire fence and a narrow strip of dirt. When John Huston wakes in the night, struggling to breathe, he can almost reach out and touch the herd of Colts and Mustangs that is inexorably plunging past.

Once he made his movies in Kyoto, Tobago, French Equatorial Africa, the Belgian Congo — thriving on malaria, amebic dysentery and sunstroke. Now he is living in a motel at the edge of a freeway and making a movie — the 40th movie he has directed in the last 46 years — in a warehouse in Valencia on the outskirts of Los Angeles. To drive the freeway himself is beyond his physical powers. He can breathe by himself for only 20 minutes at a time. He sleeps, dreams, has a nightly jolt of tequila and plays backgammon for \$5 a point tethered to a plastic umbilical cord and a tank of oxygen.

John Huston is 80 years old. Age and emphysema have reined him in. "Once in a while, I celebrate reaching the top of the stairs," he says, throwing back his head, an aging stallion with a white mane. "I feel like planting a flag, like Hillary."

He raises his hand and shakes the white plastic tubing that leads from his nostrils over his ears, down his chest and, in loops and coils, to a squat brown metal machine 25 feet away. "I curse this all the time. The fates have finally put a very harsh bit into my mouth. I don't like any part of being bound. But I've never discovered an answer to that old question of what does freedom really consist. If you aren't fettered by one thing, you're fettered by another. I'm not hungry or thirsty. I'm not lovelorn. I'm just at the end of a piece of plastic tubing. And we're all hostages in one way or another."

He is handcuffed by plastic, but the transparent cord triggers another image too — an astronaut, intrepid explorer free-floating in liquid space. A few years ago, says his 36-year-old son, Tony, "Dad was asked to what he attributed his longevity." "Surgery!" he roared. If he cannot have life on his own terms, he will take it dented, slightly soiled or marked down.

It is 11 A.M., and John Huston is seated in a wheelchair on a platform of raw wood, staring at a television monitor. On the screen, gentlemen in tail suits and tuxedos, with wing-tipped collars and boiled shirt fronts, danced with ladies in Maltese lace and velvet skirts that brush the floor. It is 1910. Dublin, Ireland. Outside the windows, snow is falling.

Why has he chosen to make a movie of "The Dead," a short story by James Joyce in which the most momentous thing that happens is that a middle-aged, well-meaning husband learns how little he knows the woman who shares his bed? All movies are part luck and part accident, and "The Dead" began with a casual discussion four years ago in Mexico.

"We were preparing the script of 'Under the Volcano,'" says Wieland Schulz-Keil, co-producer of that movie and this one. "We talked about how few pieces of great literature deal with marriage, rather than extramarital triangles."

There was, too, an attachment to Joyce that started when Mr. Huston was 21, on his honeymoon with the first of his five wives. "One of the ways we celebrated that honeymoon was my wife reading 'Ulysses' aloud," Mr. Huston says. "The book was banned. My mother had brought it back from France. I can still see the blue paper cover."

And he also had a desire to see Ireland again, Galway where he had been an Irish gentleman for 20 years, siring children and drinking and riding to hounds and disappearing to make movies and reappearing — "spectacular appearances and disappearances once a year like Santa Claus," says his son — with suitcases full of presents when the movies were finished.

In the end, going to Ireland was beyond his strength, so Dublin was brought to him. In Valencia, he has re-created a house that belonged to James Joyce's great-aunts. The makeshift movie studio is full of actors from the Abbey Theater: Donal McCann, Donal Donnelly, Marie Kean, Cathleen Delany, Ingrid Craigie.

"Is that all right for you, John?" The voice belongs to Tommy Shaw, first assistant director on God knows how many Huston movies. Faithful Kent to John Huston's Lear, someone has characterized him. It is tempting to see Mr. Huston as the ruined king, with his daughter Anjelica, who stars in "The Dead," as Cordelia and his son Tony, who wrote the screenplay, as steadfast Edgar. He looks the part. Long ago, his face was eroded into ridges and valleys, sculpted by rain and sun and hard living.

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Why does he continue to make movies? "How can he come up with childish enthusiasm for every camera movement and line of dialogue?" asks Mr. Schulz-Keil.

"Why does a painter keep on painting?" Mr. Huston asks. "Painters retiring? Nonsense!"

Globe-Trotting

By WILSON MCBEATH/Puzzles Edited by Eugene T. Maleska

ACROSS

- 1 Matinee
- 5 Catches red-handed
- 10 Computer's character equivalents
- 15 Add liquor
- 19 A.S. African people
- 20 Planet path
- 21 City WNW of Memphis
- 22 Dash
- 23 Sealing material
- 25 Variety of beet
- 27 More realistic
- 28 Short textile fibers
- 30 Paths
- 31 Horse's repast
- 32 Some corrosives
- 33 Layer
- 34 City on the Adriatic
- 36 Liqueur flavor
- 37 Conrad heroine
- 38 Three, in Bergamo
- 41 Flamework
- 44 Headgear
- 46 City on the Oka
- 47 Party in Gomorrah
- 48 Towel marking

- 49 Beget
- 50 Religious gp.
- 51 Emmetaler
- 55 Ratios in trigonometry
- 56 Most alarming
- 58 Keratinous substance
- 59 Spring bringing zing
- 60 Shubert, e.g.
- 61 Paris subway
- 62 International waters
- 64 Enero is one
- 67 Kind of strut
- 68 Hill, city in Calif.
- 69 Execs' messages
- 72 "— to me!"
- 75 Altar words
- 76 Locale of Tabriz
- 77 Scale notes
- 78 Secular
- 79 Make yarn
- 80 Site of Goodfellow AFB, Tex.
- 83 AWOL's action
- 86 Jeanne d'Arc's title: Abb.
- 87 Polli's weapon
- 88 Eccentric person
- 89 Theos's cousin
- 90 Rosary beads
- 91 Emulates Escorlier

DOWN

- 1 — dixit
- 2 Ten: Comb. form
- 3 Redolence
- 4 Of the seashore
- 5 Like well-pitched baseball games
- 6 Skills, to Seneca
- 7 Construction item
- 8 Kind of service
- 9 Lettering aid
- 10 Other than
- 11 Jolly boats
- 12 Baseball's Speaker
- 13 They loop the loop
- 14 Type of poem
- 15 "Marry, Widow, composer"
- 16 Kirghizian range
- 17 Reiner or Sagan
- 18 Goals
- 24 Word with letter or store
- 26 Best part
- 29 Seine feeder
- 32 Grifith and Gibb
- 33 Taut
- 34 Beet soup
- 35 One-celled creatures
- 36 Feeling of dread
- 37 Troubadour's songs
- 38 Scrawny
- 39 Distinctive
- 40 Sedan
- 41 Perch
- 42 Crouches in fear
- 43 Mount
- 44 Showing: Comb. form
- 45 Poona natives
- 51 Reality investments
- 52 Lobster's claw
- 53 Halley novel
- 54 Faunleroy
- 55 Command to Fido
- 57 Best seller in 1884
- 59 Oration
- 61 Rapid to Mehta
- 62 Relating to oil
- 63 One of the Marianas
- 64 Salad item
- 65 Make amends
- 68 Dido
- 69 Jeanne fille
- 70 Part of Q.E.D.
- 71 Lion's pride
- 72 Parts of lists
- 73 Spacecraft covering
- 74 Secluded valleys
- 79 Ancient Roman coin
- 81 Sea force, to W. S. Gilbert
- 82 Lubricated
- 83 Kipling's "Sea to Sea"

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

GRATE JOYFUL CUD OFFER
AGENTS ENJOY REO MOVE
GAWDITIOUS EMBELLISHED
TYPE REIN EMBELLISHED
ESEA DUBBS REPPAD AJAR
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CANDIDATE COVED
BOONE VYCONO CREVED
UPPER TATON NOUA
OLD CHICAGOITILE NOA
WEST NOLA BEHOLD ECE
MAJESTY GARDEN GREST
OAKEN EMBELLISHED
OOPS FERRON APPELIVE
BUREAU PAPA RICE
GODDARD STOOD RITE
TOTAL NET STONE RITE
LEERY USA BOLD BASE

Springing into bloom

THERE IS nothing more beautiful blooming in urban areas of the country than the tens of thousands of daffodils, hyacinths and tulips donated by Israel's Dutch friends and planted by municipal gardeners in the streets of Jerusalem.

The most attractive display of ornamental words and symbols in three bright colours is at the Windmill park, opposite the Liberty Bell garden, which alone is worth a visit to the capital. Yes, you amateur gardeners, don't miss this short-lived spectacle.

SPRING IS knocking at the door, and the dangers of night frosts and storms have almost gone. Shrubs and trees are sprouting buds of foliage and flowers. Every morning stroll through the garden brings joy and satisfaction; every new flower is a pleasure. Now you are being repaid manifold for all the work and diligence you applied to your garden in autumn. If you have followed the fortnightly advice in this column, you should at least enjoy the same flowers that are now blooming in my little garden under half-shade conditions. There are alyssums, snapdragons, salvia, pansies, eschscholtzias; succulents in different colours, especially kalanchoe and aloe in carmine red; cyclamen, snowdrops, cinerarias; clematis, freesias, anemones and ranunculi.

In one corner I enjoy a climbing rose called "Cocktail," whose red and white flowers will be blooming in about a month's time. Self-seeded violets have formed many fragrant carpets, which have found their own way to decorate the empty spots. Since violets generally thrive best in half shade, they have found a suitable home in my garden for many years. Stocks, calendulas and ageratum, which are already blooming in my neighbours' sunny garden, are latecomers in half shade, but some of them are already showing buds. After a long interval many of my planted blue lupins have become established and will soon flower.

Apologies, have you seen the "blue hill" at Emek Ha'ela, not far from Beit Shemesh? It is a remarkable sight, entirely covered with

Gardener's Corner Walter Frankl

flowering lupins, sown by nature.

Plans for summer. The real gardener always plans two to three months ahead. The warmer weather of March and April will provide opportunities to increase activities such as watering during rainless periods, feeding, weeding and cultivation, as well as watching out for pests and diseases, which increase with higher temperatures. Most important for continual flowering, there will be planting of summer-blooming annuals and bulbs to do.

Lawns awaken slowly in late March. If you didn't provide a compost or red soil cover for your lawn before the winter rains, you may do so now. If you did it in autumn, fertilize your lawns as early as possible to strengthen their new growth. Sulphate of ammonia, urea or superphosphate may be used for this purpose.

If you cover the grass in March, wait with the mineral fertilizers after the cover is fully absorbed and your grass carpet entirely green again. There is a new trend in Israel - to cover lawns with a thin layer of fine Golan turf pebbles, especially those used for picnics, parties or football matches.

More hints for summer. Set out canna lilies (*Canna indica*) outdoors as backgrounds for flowerbeds, or in larger pots, tins or tubs for balcony and roof decoration. When buying rhizomes, ask for *Canna lucifer*, a bi-coloured flower in orange and red.

Try a new programme for your summer garden: plant gladioli (*saifan* in Hebrew) every two weeks until July if possible using only vigorous, large corms with small visible sprouts underneath.

Another new idea: scatter seeds of hardy annuals on the surface of bare, sunny garden spots and scratch them in with a tooth-cultivator or a rake. The following may be used for this purpose: *Portulaca grandiflora*, *Iberis umbellata*, *Iberis amara*.

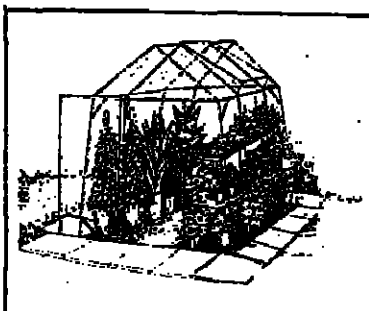
Nigella damascena and *Arabis alpina*. Thin out after germination to about 10-12 cm. between plants and you'll enjoy a flowering carpet from May until fall.

Vegetables. Sow peas, spinach, beets, carrots and radishes. Sow in germination boxes or cold frames under glass or plastic cover - tomatoes of different species, hot and sweet peppers, as well as eggplants. Plant onion bulbets every fortnight for a continuous supply of green onions. If temperatures rise to a minimum of 15 degrees C. you can sow corn, cucumbers, marrows and melons.

It's worthwhile preparing the planting spots for the night-shade vegetables (tomatoes, etc.) in advance. Choose a sunny spot and dig in half a bucket of cow manure or well-rotted compost for every square metre.

If you want to plant tomatoes, eggplants and peppers for decorative purposes among your balcony flowers, get large cucumber or olive tins from your greengrocer, punch holes into the base and cover them with potsherds or gravel, then paint them green or some other colour and fill them with best garden soil with manure additions. At the same time prepare and paint one-metre long sticks for staking. When seedlings are about 10 cm. high, transplant them and water regularly and carefully. When they reach a height of about 20 cm. tie them to the stakes. By the time the plants are as tall as the stakes they will show many flowers and perhaps also green fruits. Then cut the tops for earlier ripening.

GREENHOUSES were initially built in Israel for professional nurseries, farmers, botanical centres at universities, etc. Although private greenhouses (glass-houses or hot-houses) were once costly to construct and to operate, today many people find they can afford to build smaller structures. Since at least one nursery sells a small modular greenhouse for less than NIS 1,000, I feel obliged to give some advice from time to time for those who own one.



A greenhouse extends the gardening season right through the year.

For those with sufficient sunny ground, such a greenhouse could be the fulfilment of a dream; to grow early strawberries, bromeliads and orchids and to raise large cyclamens, cinerarias, calceolarias, primulas and other tender plants from seed.

With such a greenhouse and some heating facilities, you may also be able to grow sweet melons and cucumbers in winter.

We have often told you that a gardener must continually prepare for the future even when enjoying the present. This should be the motto for the greenhouse operator, and no time of the year is better for him than March. The influence of longer days and brighter sun is felt more in the protective greenhouse.

At this time, seeds must be sown for summer blooming in outdoor gardens as well as for future greenhouse crops. Plants need more water now, and it should be tepid, not icy cold. Stronger sun from April to the end of summer means that shading may be necessary for crops like orchids, African violets, glaxias, tuberous begonias, ferns cyclamen and others that cannot endure the full force of the sun. Shading can be done by placing mats over parts of the greenhouse roof. Frequent opening of windows for ventilation is also beneficial.

If some greenhouse plants need larger containers, do the job now and transplant them in late afternoon. Gardeners are often faced with a dilemma regarding large, pot-grown plants like camellias. The secret of keeping them small and healthy is to re-pot them into the same container. Do this by washing soil away from the old root-ball and pruning some of the larger roots and re-potting them with fresh soil.

Maccabi masters of own fate

Post Sports Staff

The final countdown to Thursday's critical last round in the European Cup final has begun. And, as they complete their final day of preparations at home before departing for Spain tomorrow morning, Maccabi Tel Aviv are becoming more and more convinced that their fate rests in their own hands.

General wisdom has it that Tracer Milan should have little trouble seeing off Zadar and thus ensuring their place in the final. That means that the two principal foci of interest will be Madrid, where Real host Maccabi, and Kaunas in Lithuania, where Zalgiris play French champions Orthez.

If they needed any reminding at all it has now been made plain in the starkest terms to Maccabi that they can expect no favours in Madrid on Thursday night. That was the message brought back by their assistant coach Yair Sharon who watched Real put Tracer's ambitions on hold with their exciting three point victory at the end of last week.



OFF. - Arvides Sabonis

"Real are in no mood to ease up. Their prestige is at stake. We can anticipate a tough game," Sharon reported.

To underline that message, Real were in good form on Saturday night when they nipped the erstwhile Spanish league leaders Hovendad Badelona 108-106.

The match reached a nail-biting climax when Real went ahead just 20 seconds from the end. The leaders struck back immediately only to

find that Real - still only fourth in the league in one of their poorest seasons for years - are in no mood to throw in the towel. With the crowd in their famous Pavilion stadium egging them on, Juan Corbelen sank the crucial winning basket.

Orthez were also in winning form in the French league, defeating Villeurbanne handily 82-74 with a spirited second-half performance which overruled a 40-48 deficit at the half.

The French champions, who must win in the Soviet Union and hope Maccabi slip up in Madrid in order to make the final, are counting on some help from their hosts on Thursday night. This in the guise of the long absent Zalgiris star Arvides Sabonis.

The latest reports from Lithuania are that his long lay-off is not yet over; it is not clear whether the injury he is reported to have is real or drummed up because of a dispute with the Kaunas management. Sabonis' continued absence - which now seems likely - would help Orthez enormously.

Maccabi, however, refuse to regard the Soviet giant as the cure for their waiting pains and continue to insist emphatically: "We can do it by relying on no-one but ourselves."

With a win in Madrid, nothing can stop them. Maccabi know that all too well.

Chrissie: Graf the best this year

KEY BISCAINE (Reuter). - Steffi Graf confirmed her position as her apparent to the women's tennis throne when she demolished Chris Evert Lloyd 6-1, 6-2 to win the final of the \$1.8 million International Players Tennis championship.

It took the West German teenager, seeded third, just 57 minutes to defeat the second-seeded Lloyd, exactly the same amount of time she needed to upset top seed and world's number one Martina Navratilova two days earlier in a semifinal.

"This was my biggest tournament ever," Graf said, "because both Chris and Martina were in it, and I beat them both."

The men's final pits top seed and defending champion Ivan Lendl against fellow-Czechoslovak Miloslav Mecir, who advanced when fourth seed Yannick Noah of France

retired. Mecir, who will spearhead Czechoslovakia's Davis Cup attack on Israel, led 7-5, 5-1 when Noah withdrew because of shoulder injury suffered earlier in the week.

Lloyd, seeded second, managed to hold her serve only once in the match - in the second game of the second set. She broke Graf twice, but the second break did not come until the 17-year-old was serving for the match at 5-1.

Lloyd, 32, made frequent errors on her forehand and had little luck attacking Graf's usually weaker backhand side.

"She didn't get any pace out of her shots," Graf said of Lloyd's play. "She was making too many errors."

Lloyd said Graf was the best in the world this year.

"Martina is still number one, if you go with a computer and count the last 12 months," she said. "But if you base it on this year, Navratilova is not number one."

"I didn't expect her to hit that hard," Lloyd said. "She has the hardest forehand in women's tennis."

Youngsters do well on Frankel satellite circuit

By JACK LEON

TEL AVIV. - Israelis Boaz Merenstein and Raviv Weidenfeld each defeated three overseas opponents in this weekend's qualifying competition, to reach the main draw of the first leg of the ATP Frankel spring satellite circuit taking place in Ashkelon.

Menashe Tsor also qualified from the 75 starters, 45 of them from abroad - along with Yoram Ben Ami, Moshe Vasseli, Haim Zion and Ohad Weinberg.

The only other home entry in the 32-strong main draw is Amit Naoz, winner of the Frankel autumn satellite circuit last November. The main draw begins in Ashkelon at 2 p.m. today. In the ITA Women's Masters, Danka Corina, Ilana Berger, Anni Varon and Yael Shavit claimed the top four places in that order.

Woolridge explodes off Nets' bench

PHILADELPHIA (AP). - Orlando Woolridge came off the bench to score 33 points, leading the New Jersey Nets, who have the second-worst record in the NBA, to a 114-102 victory over the Philadelphia 76ers Saturday night.

Woolridge replaced starter Albert King early in the first quarter and went on to score 20 points in the first half as he sparked the Nets to a 61-46 halftime advantage.

In Atlanta, Dominique Wilkins had 19 of his 30 points in the first quarter and Kevin Willis had 16 of his 34 points in the fourth period as the Hawks rolled to a 122-97 victory over the Utah Jazz.

Elsewhere, it was the Milwaukee Bucks 124, Indiana Pacers 120; New York Knicks 115, Los Angeles Clippers 93; Phoenix Suns 105, Sacramento Kings 102; Seattle SuperSonics 118, Houston Rockets 115; Los Angeles Lakers 122, Cleveland Cavaliers 118.

Tyson tops all-round

LAS VEGAS (AP). - Mike Tyson, the WBC heavyweight champion, became undefeated world champ when he took the WBA title away from James "Bonescrusher" Smith with a mauling 12-round decision here on Saturday night.

The much anticipated action match between two big punchers never materialized as Iron Mike and the Bonescrusher spent a lot of time with their arms around each other.

Thomas Hearns moved closer to his dream of a record four world titles in different divisions when he stopped champion Dennis Andries of Britain in the 10th round to capture the WBC light-heavyweight crown.

Everton's hopes dented

LONDON (AFP). - Everton, knocked out of the FA Cup and Fudl Members' Cup in the past week, had their league title hopes dented yesterday when they slumped to a 2-1 defeat at Watford.

An 85th minute goal from Mark Falco, his first in eight games, earned Watford their first win over the Merseyside club in 10 attempts and left Everton three points adrift of leaders Liverpool.

Pakistan strike after unruly crowd scenes

AHMEDABAD (AFP). - Indian and Pakistani players were forced to walk off the Gujarat Stadium here before tea on the fourth day of the fourth Test under a hail of missiles flung by supporters.

India had made 290 for six in reply to Pakistan's first innings total of 395 all out when the crowd started to throw stones, fruit and slippers onto the field, forcing Pakistani skipper Imran Khan to stage a protest walkout.

After the unscheduled break, medium pacer Wasim Akram engulphed club in 10 attempts and left order collapse taking 4 wickets in 13 balls. SCORES: Pakistan 395 and 25-0; India 323.

In Sydney, South Australian captain David Hookes and Wayne Phillips set an Australian record highest partnership for any wicket - 462 undefeated for the fourth wicket.

Hookes hit a career best 206 not out while Phillips scored an unbeaten 213 as South Australia ran up a massive 643 for three declared in their first innings against Tasmania. - Former New Zealand wicketkeeper Ernie McSweeney hit an unbeaten century for the Shell XI to earn his side a draw in the three-day match against the West Indies. SCORES: WI 433-6 and 105-1; Shell side 348-6 declared.

NHL

SATURDAY'S RESULTS: Boston Bruins 3, Washington Capitals 2; OT; Chicago Blackhawks 4, New Jersey Devils 3; Hartford Whalers 5, Philadelphia Flyers 3; Quebec Nordiques 5, Buffalo Sabres 5; OT; Toronto Maple Leafs 7, New York Islanders 2; Edmonton Oilers 5, Montreal Canadiens 3; Pittsburgh Penguins 7, Minnesota North Stars 3; St. Louis Blues 5, Detroit Red Wings 3.



HUNGRY CHAMPION. - The Duchess of York, formerly Sarah Ferguson, stops former champion steeplechaser Aldindi from eating her flowers as they meet up at Windsor near London. The Duchess rode the 1981 Grand National winner for one mile as part of a 250-mile charity walk which the famous horse is undertaking in aid of the Bob Champion Cancer Trust. Champion won the National on Aldindi after successfully conquering the cancer from which he had been suffering. Famous people are each riding the 16-year-old horse for a mile during his stately walk which will end at Aintree early next month in time for this year's Grand National. (Reuter telephoto)

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begin with a good breakfast
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and The Jerusalem Post

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The Jerusalem Post to guests of
every day.

SOMEONE has observed that if the protagonists of *Hamlet* and *Othello* were reversed, we'd have had no play: Hamlet would have seen through Iago in no time, and Othello killed Claudius in Act I. It's a nice game, but as Shakespeare doesn't offer unlimited scope, let's try it with the Bible and politics.

Take Potiphar's wife and Shulamit Aloni. Mrs. Potiphar would have had a ball doing her siren act in the Knesset: such a choice of males playing hard to get! Mrs. Aloni, on the other hand, wouldn't have bothered with Joseph. She'd have been too busy campaigning for prison reform.

Eve and Nancy Reagan might also trade place to good effect. Eve in the White House would have acted the wide-eyed innocent, claiming that "Oliver North beguiled us." Mrs. Reagan would have stuck by Adam through thick and thin, and lavished the tenderest care on him after his rib surgery.

Vanunu in Noah's position would have taken the plan for the ark,

SOMETIMES it seems to me that if a dog has an Achilles heel it's in its ears. The number of ear problems dogs are prone to are many and few owners escape at least one bout of this problem.

Every case of ear trouble is, first and foremost, a medical problem and your dog's veterinary surgeon should be consulted without delay. There is no time to mess about. The dog is in pain and if untreated, the situation almost invariably goes from bad to worse.

But many of these problems can be prevented by proper ear care on a regular basis. It is also a good idea to know how to diagnose the fact that something is wrong with the dog's ear or ears.

RANDOMALIA Miriam Arad

Trading places

which, you'll remember, was received straight from God himself with precise specifications ("The length of the ark shall be 300 cubits, the breadth of it 50...") the window set here, the door there), and sold it to the wicked giants that were in the land. Then it would have been the giants who'd have survived the Flood and multiplied, and we would all be 10 ft. tall today.

Noah, instead of writing messages on the palm of his hand, would have tied knots in his beard - a small knot for dots, a big knot for dashes - conveying far more information than a brief "Rome, 11 hrs." and such. He had a very long beard, had Noah, as you can see in all the pictures of

him in the children's books.

King Solomon in Ernest Japhet's place would have cut that \$4m. in half. Like the wise man he was, he would have figured that better \$2m. in hand than \$4m. in the bushes of the Knesset Finance Committee. For a mere \$2m. they wouldn't have made such a fuss. Ernest Japhet would have written a letter to each of his thousand wives, explaining that what with the cost of building the Temple, developing a navy from scratch, and entertaining the Queen of Sheba, he would have to severely reduce her allowance for gold-embroidered cushions and ivory fans.

Last but not least, I think we might

have done well to replace Yisrael Kessar with the Patriarch Abraham, who could out-haggle our Histadrut secretary with one hand tied behind his back. First, you will recall, he gets God to agree that if there be 50 righteous men in Sodom, the city shall be spared. Then he gives a little so-far-so-good nod to himself and continues: "Peradventure there shall lack five of the 50 righteous, wilt thou destroy all the city for lack of five?" Several verses later he has persuaded the Lord to come down from 50 to 10, and let's see Kessar emulate that feat with Finance Minister Nissim.

Yisrael Kessar himself might have done better as Moses in Egypt. Instead of trying to impress Pharaoh with turning rods into serpents, which Pharaoh's own magicians were past masters at anyhow, he would have called on the Children of Israel to down their bricks and straw and go on strike. One would like to have seen Pharaoh harden his heart then, for with all the Israelites on strike, who would have built him his precious Pithom and Ramses?

maladies. It is a good idea to carefully clean the dog's ears with a cotton swab and a bit of baby oil at least once a week. This is equally applicable to cats. If the animal has very waxy material in the ear then it is a good idea to mix baby oil and alcohol in equal proportions and swab out the ears with this mixture. This clears away wax, sterilizes small scratches and even destroys ear mites if they are just beginning.

IN ADDITION to ear problems dogs get skin problems from most of the same causes. Mange, the curse of the canine world, is caused by tiny mites which burrow under the skin.

The hair falls out, the dog can't stop scratching and often becomes covered with sores that lead to secondary infections. I have never understood why so many vets seem to think of mange as the last diagnosis rather than one of the first. I have seen a number of cases where dogs were treated for weeks and months with lotions and cortisone creams to then make an almost miraculous recovery after a good insecticidal bath.

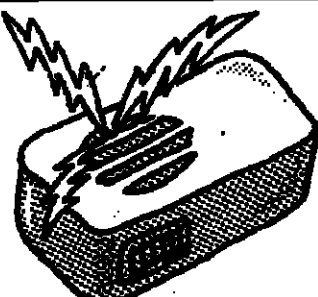
Another problem is the dog that begins to scratch and bite itself just above the tail. This can be fleas, but more often it can be an inflamed anal gland. This is a problem for the vet and if a treatment for fleas does not stop the tail biting and scratching within a few hours then the dog should go to the vet at once.

One main thing to remember is that the owner can prevent many serious conditions by being alert and spotting trouble before it gets to the point where it is a matter of urgency. The well-groomed dog, however, need not suffer from these problems. Most of them are eliminated by regular hygiene and attention to the dog's condition. And remember, all these conditions are far more easily prevented than treated.

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Financial Times Survey on ISRAEL

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Topics proposed for discussion include:

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| Defence Industries | Haifa |
| Diamonds | Industry Profiles |
| Chemicals and Petrochemicals | Personality Profiles |

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Hugh G. Westmacott will be available at the Hilton Hotel, Tel Aviv, Tel. 03-244222, between March 11 and 19.

Prosperous south, depressed north Has Britain become two nations?

By MARCUS ELIASON
LONDON (AP). — Touring in Manchester, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher briskly dismissed a businessman's complaint that she was running down the economy of Britain's north.

"I don't think there is anything like a north-south divide," she said. Two weeks later, the latest government figures appeared to support Thatcher's critics — job losses in the north, rising prosperity in the south, and once again, a debate that has vexed the British since before Queen Victoria's rule was all over the front pages.

Is there a north-south divide, consisting of one prosperous nation centred on London and another north of the capital that is sinking in an irreversible decline? Or is it an age-old gap between rich and poor, to which geography is merely incidental?

Some observers say the divide exists solely in the British mind, fuelled by different accents, dress and eating habits.

Australian journalist John Pilger, writing of his first trip beyond the northernmost London suburb of Watford, referred to the area as "another nation with a different history, different loyalties, different humour, even different values."

The Employment Department's 1984 census, updated to 1986, showed a net loss of 1,568 million jobs for all of Britain since Thatcher's Conservative Party was elected in 1979. Ninety four per cent were in central and northern England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Fifty eight per cent of the country's population lives in those regions.

With the increased number of self-employed included in the calculations, England's east, southeast and southwest registered a net gain of 356,000 employees from 1979, compared with a net loss of 1,107 million spread over almost all the rest of the United Kingdom.

John Prescott, the opposition Labour Party's spokesman on employment, called on Thatcher to "sit down and study these reports and find something out, instead of misleading people."

Even the Tories' own Michael Falloon, a lawmaker representing a northern region, accused his government of making northern taxpayers subsidize "southern comforts."

But the thicket of statistics provided comfort for both sides. The Employment Department pointed to the increase in the number of self-employed — from 1.9 million to 2.75 million since 1979 — which is what Thatcher long has advocated as a way of reducing the 11.3 per cent overall unemployment rate.



London commuters and a coal mine maintenance worker.

It also noted that since 1983, the rate of increase in unemployment has been falling steadily, indicating that Britain is recovering from recession and that every region except Wales had an increase in the number of jobs created. A striking statistic was the shift from industry to services. The figures showed that jobs in the financial sector, tourism, leisure and other services were up 861,000 from 1979. This shift falls in line with Conservative thinking.

"What the Thatcher government has done is write off large parts of the industrial base, saying they can never be revived and pinning hopes instead on the development of a service economy and a building up of overseas investments," Prof. Andrew Gamble of Sheffield University's department of politics told a recent conference.

Overseas assets have risen sixfold since Thatcher came to office. At roughly \$120 billion, they make Britain the world's second-largest international creditor after Japan, only a decade after Britain was in such economic trouble that it needed a bailout loan from the International Monetary Fund. This surplus has been generated largely by North Sea oil and financial services centred in the City, the blossoming, newly computerized financial district of London.

It fuels the affluence of the so-called stockbroker belt of country homes just south of London, and the docklands project, the largest urban renewal scheme in Europe.

Northern cities face bigger problems adjusting to what some would call post-industrial Britain. Liverpool's docks, once the jumping-off point for America, are largely idle as the economic focus has shifted towards Europe. And unemployment is 20 to 25 per cent.

The decline of industries that were almost synonymous with their cities — coal in Newcastle, steel in Sheffield, shipyards in Glasgow — has created unemployment rates in some northern cities about twice as high as London's 9.4 per cent.

But experts generally agree that the divide is not so geographically clearcut. The north has large pockets of affluence. The south has areas as blighted as the north.

Sheerness, in the south's county of Kent, has 21 per cent unemployment, and the inner London borough of Hackney long has been regarded as the poorest in mainland Britain.

On the other hand, Beverley in northeast England has fewer jobless than the national average of 11.3 per cent.

The Sunday Times, in an exhaustive study prompted by the Employment Department statistics, concluded that the north-south divide didn't exist. It provided figures it said proved that even the most

blighted areas of the north were experiencing a retail and leisure boom, fuelled by the 80 to 88 per cent of people who have jobs. It called the north-south divide a "fashionable phrase" to describe the unevenly spread prosperity. And, "like most such generalizations, it obscures more than it illumines."

Employment Minister John Lee says Thatcher's political opposition is ignoring the fact that one million new jobs have been created under the Conservatives since 1979, that unemployment has been falling for four months and that youth unemployment also is coming down.

John Whitehead of Caci Market Analysts, who has studied the divisions, said in an interview that a major problem is high housing costs in London, coupled with a widespread cultural resistance to moving in search of jobs.

"Communities in Britain are centuries older than in America, and people have a much stronger sense of regional identity."

Open books: Banks now face tougher disclosure standards

By PINHAS LANDAU
Post Finance Reporter

The public will now be getting more and better information concerning the business operations of commercial banks, as a result of two important directives recently issued by the Examiner of Banks Department at the Bank of Israel.

The new directives serve to amplify the general principles laid down in a wide-ranging circular covering the roles of directors, internal controllers and external auditors, that Examiner of Banks Galia Maor laid down in September 1985.

While the latest regulations stress that they do not replace or diminish any existing obligation of commercial banks to conform to the reporting requirements of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange (Tase), in fact they represent a broadening of the trickle of information issued under current legal and exchange-imposed disclosure requirements. They will also apply to banks not registered for trading on the Tase, such as Barclays Discount, Arab-Israel, American-Israel and other subsidiaries of the main commercial banks.

The two directives are aimed at two of the weak links exposed by the Bejski report on the bank share collapse of October 1983, namely the boards of directors and the external accountants of the commercial banks. They seek to formalize the reporting requirements of the accountants to the board and of the board to shareholders.

To this end, accountants are now ordered to present to the board, or a committee acting on its behalf, a detailed written report on the auditing operation of the banks' annual financial statements. This report should accompany the statements themselves, when they are presented to the board for approval. However, in the event that the accountants do not complete it in time, they are allowed a final deadline of six months from the date of the annual balance sheets reporting (that is the end of June for the previous year's figures) or 60 days after the publication of the statements, whichever is earlier.

This report is based on U.S. reporting practice known as the "long form report," which outside accountants are required to present as part of their regular audit activity for a

company. The degree of detail demanded by the Bank of Israel is left to the individual accounting firm's discretion, "so long as it is sufficient to allow the board to assess the scope of the auditing work and its main findings."

In particular, the accountants must relate to any findings that have significant impact on the financial statements. If they concern issues requiring board-level decisions, they must explain their opinion that is attached to the statements or, if relevant, detail the reasons for any qualifications they inserted or the failure to express an opinion, if they feel unable to provide one. In addition, they must analyze the quality of the bank's own internal auditing operation.

The two central bank directives are aimed at two of the weak links exposed by the Bejski report on the bank share collapse of October 1983, namely the boards of directors and the external accountants of the commercial banks.

eration, with special regard to follow-up on execution of policy decisions, control of electronic data processing systems and data protection, and the accounting and financial reporting systems.

The accounting firm also must spell out additional services it may have provided for the bank during the year, such as general consultancy or taxation services. Not only that, accountants are required to detail which services provided by other firms, such as economic consultants, lawyers and real estate assessors, it used in preparing the bank's financial statements.

The second Bank of Israel directive is addressed to the board itself. It instructs bank boards to prepare two reports as part of the process of presenting annual and semi-annual financial statements. One of these, a summary report, is to accompany the statements themselves. The other, longer and far more detailed,

is to be presented to the annual general meeting, which should be held as soon as possible after publication of the annual results.

The latter report should include a description of the firm's business in the period covered by the statements, as well as important developments between the end of that period and the publication of the figures. These should take in the main trends in revenues, expenses and profits, the state of the firm's equity and any changes in it and provide an analysis of the bank's business structure firm according to different sectors and/or geographical areas.

In addition, and of particular importance in the light of trends in banking in recent years in both Israel and abroad, the report must cover the bank's activity in "off-balance-sheet operations." These include such areas as securities trading, which also encompasses management of mutual funds and provident funds, as well as other services such as credit-card issuing. Another hitherto-under-reported area pinpointed for coverage is the activities of the main subsidiaries.

Finally, the report must include the names and functions of all the senior executives in the bank. The summary report to accompany the annual and semi-annual results should contain a brief review of the bank's profitability, equity position and balance-sheet structure in the relevant period. An important extra demand is the requirement that details be included of events in the period subsequent to the statement date, insofar as these are likely to have a major impact on business.

The central bank adds that "Where necessary to explain the figures, background information on economic developments in Israel and the world should be given, and their effect on the company assessed."

The new regulations apply to the financial statements for the 1986 business year, which means they take effect immediately. Of the major banks, First International is due to report its 1986 results tomorrow and Discount in two weeks. These will therefore be the first opportunities to assess the difference the new reports will make to the level of financial disclosure.

CURRENCY MARKETS

Dollar looks stronger in short run

The dollar closed higher on Friday as a strong gain was reported in U.S. February employment data. For the week as a whole, however, U.S. currency moved in the narrow trading ranges that have prevailed since the February 22 Paris agreement.

The threat of central bank intervention to support the dollar has created a floor under the currency, resulting in no significant dollar selling. The fear of intervention was strong enough to support the currency even when bearish economic data were reported by the U.S. earlier in the week, including a decline of 4 per cent in factory orders, a 7.5 per cent

drop in durable goods orders and a 1 per cent decline in the leading indicators.

The stability of the dollar attracted a flow of funds to the pound-sterling, which gained as much as 3.3 per cent against the Deutschmark. High interest rates, a more favourable economic outlook and expectations for a solid Tory victory in the coming elections in Britain all supported the pound. A strong turnaround in oil prices back to the \$18-a-barrel level intensified the positive sentiment towards sterling.

A modest effort by the Bank of England to reverse this trend could not withstand the funds eager to fund a currency that is making a move.

Friday's reaction to the improvement in U.S. employment figures indicates market operators are willing to buy the U.S. currency. From a technical point of view, additional

confirmation for a stronger correction in the value of the European currencies which is currently under way, was seen last week.

Although the major trend of the dollar is still down, this trend has slowed recently, particularly since the last G-6 meeting. Indeed, the dollar is likely to continue its advance of Friday for the short term, accompanied by volatile moves in both directions.

As the dollar strengthens, the pound can be expected to remain stable or weaken a little. However, a further advance of this currency is now limited. On the cross-currency relations, there are opportunities ahead in selling European currencies against the pound and yen.

The column appears courtesy of Boaz Barak Advisory Services.

JETS. — Jordan's national airline, Royal Jordanian, will lease six A310-300 Airbus passenger jets under an agreement signed last month with a private company in Paris.

CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 1 Red Lane? Go use a posh alternative! (10)
- 9 Get through, having ticket (4)
- 10 Common donkey has fetters in front—dangerous way to draw (3-5)
- 11 Wave or means to make one? (6)
- 12 Bulletin muddle takes a long time (7)
- 13 Company for philosopher having no retirement (7)
- 16 Good score from non-L league, perhaps (5)
- 17 Cheeky drop in rent! (4)
- 18 Common fire put out (4)
- 19 Depression left in oil drain (5)
- 21 Littery, possibly, in a pedestrian way (7)
- 22 Within it we hear (7)
- 24 Stew for those in a bad temper? (6)
- 27 Replacing piece in mat and showing intolerance (10)
- 28 State of university head reversing headgear (4)
- 29 Charity in which energy is to be controlled (10)

DOWN

- 2 Response from city and half of Soho (4)
- 3 Nothing survives of the nil producers (6)
- 4 Prisoner given label in stockings (7)
- 5 Sprout to get bigger (4)
- 6 Being unproductive tires out the French (7)
- 7 Extremely handy colour (4,6)
- 8 A number of horses, about ten, can be exacting (10)
- 12 Foot-long skeleton from Sumatra set out (10)
- 13 Post-Impressionists' material? (7-5)
- 14 Nobly in advance! (5)
- 15 Quill has first-class point (5)
- 17 Railing against roofing (7)
- 20 Bow-tie for an artist? (7)
- 23 Layers of plates (6)
- 25 Nip back after second drive (4)
- 26 Mac's tax (4)

Yesterday's Solution

1. S. A. O. VAIN
2. ELEPHANTINE
3. E. D. A. S. LEVI
4. C. E. R. O. T. N. A. D.
5. A. E. G. U. P. C. R.
6. R. U. S. E. N. O. S. T. A.
7. E. I. S. E. N. O. R. I. T.
8. D. I. S. T. A. N. T. R. E. S. T. O. R. E.
9. S. T. O. V. N. O.
10. T. I. E. D. R. E. E. W. A.
11. I. N. K. I. L. E. R. W. A. I. T.
12. E. A. T. E. I. T.
13. E. E. G. G. A. N. O. S. P. O. O. N.

QUICK SOLUTION

ACROSS: 1 Silly, 4 Buses, 10 Explain, 11 Bacon, 12 Royal, 13 Venture, 15 Fewer, 17 Cacti, 19 Greed, 22 Sloe, 25 Marquee, 27 Viper, 29 Lucid, 30 Vertigo, 31 Stare, 32 Jetty, DOWN: 2 Imply, 3 Leaflet, 5 Urban, 6 Exclude, 7 Zebra, 8 Knave, 9 Anger, 14 Ergo, 16 Wise, 18 Apricot, 20 Reverie, 21 Smile, 23 Leave, 24 Broom, 26 Under, 28 Point.

QUICK CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- 1 Country-walker
- 2 Task assigned to astronauts
- 3 Shining
- 4 Assault
- 5 Publication
- 6 Belonging to the side
- 7 Emit smoke
- 8 Push
- 9 Peninsula of SW Europe
- 10 Not any
- 11 Russian tea-urn
- 12 Belly-band of saddle
- 13 Month
- 14 Shaven part of head
- 15 Egg short leg
- 16 White poplar-tree

DOWN

- 1 Muscman
- 2 Renown
- 3 Harvesters
- 4 Temperament
- 5 Extra-strong porter
- 6 Underwriter
- 7 Relating to birth
- 8 Blood-related
- 9 Volcano in E. Sicily
- 10 Fangs of conscience
- 11 Plant with waxy flower
- 12 Sportsman
- 13 Public speaker
- 14 Muffler
- 15 Sound, authentic
- 16 Awaken

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Netanya: Laniado

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MARKET PLACE

PINHAS LANDAU

Tender stake

The Bank of Israel spent \$100 million buying bank shares last month, and about \$25 m. in January. Before that, in the closing months of 1986, the amount involved in these purchases — in effect early redemptions of government obligations — was negligible, and in the last two weeks they have become so again.

Nevertheless, the point has been made: The government has the money and even the inclination to enter the market and take advantage of the high yields that the bank-share bonds currently sport. The question therefore is, where to go from here.

One possibility is to remain passive, and wait for another opportunity such as occurred in January-February to reappear and then, if and when it comes, to jump in and buy up others of bank shares in the market. That is fine only insofar as these offers do actually appear. If they don't, the Bank of Israel and the Treasury are left with their tongues hanging out.

Another possibility is to become active buyers, in other words to enter the market on the buying side by registering real demand, not merely reacting to developments by buying other people's supply. This is called, in bourse parlance, appearing in the "leader," and the authorities simply haven't got the guts to do it. The reason is as pathetic as it is simple.

Even though they may think it is worthwhile, they won't aggressively buy in the market because they are afraid that people will accuse them of "regulating" the bank shares again. The fact that they are doing the exact opposite is irrelevant for this argument, because they are concerned with what know-nothings in the Knesset Finance Committee and the media will say, not with what the reality is.

After all, the regulation was inherently stupid and doomed, because it pretended that shares were a kind of perpetual floating rate bond that could only move up but never down, and always offered at least the rate of inflation. Now, however, the "arrangement" shares really are bonds, with a clear maturity date, and buying them up has no connotation of regulation or manipulation, but only budgetary implications.

However, this logic doesn't help, because the people who have to propose and implement this strategy are still dominated by the trauma of the bank share collapse and the threat of another commission of inquiry. They prefer to do nothing, or at least to do the minimum possible.

Even so, there is another method of buying shares in the market. It was suggested in this column three months ago, and found favour in some quarters, at least on a theoretical basis. That is to openly make tender offers for shares to the tune of, say, \$100 m., on a first come, first served basis, or on a *pro rata* basis if there is an oversubscription to the offer.

All that has to be done is to announce that the Bank of Israel, and or the Treasury, will buy a given quantity of bank shares at prices at or below a given maximum level, for a fixed period. The price will be above the current market price, to give an incentive to holders to go for early redemption, but the limited demand will serve to cut the cloth to the Treasury's means, in line with the existing budgetary surplus or future inflows.

Some officials are attracted to this idea, while others are still seeking excuses — such as the need to prepare a formal prospectus (Why? To redeem bonds? This shows a fundamental confusion as to what the bank shares are now and might be in the future) or any other delaying tactic that occurs to them.

Meanwhile, the teams at the Bank of Israel and the Treasury are labouring away over their proposals for what to do about the bank share redemption problem. A seminar under the auspices of the Hebrew University was due to be held next week where these ideas were to be aired for public discussion. Now it has been put off for three weeks. Then will come the Pesach break, and thereafter further discussions and considerations, referred to further committees. From June to September, everyone will go abroad or be too hot to deal with serious topics, and then will come the holiday season.

On or about October 20, 10 days before the next \$1.2b. billion redemption payment, they will probably realize that they haven't quite agreed on what to do. The simple expedient of using the market instead of committees of civil servants to resolve economic problems is apparently too advanced for this country.

Trade gap narrowed 34% in February

By DAVID ROSENBERG

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Israel's trade deficit narrowed a seasonally adjusted 34 per cent in February to \$190.8 million, as exports posted sharp gains and imports declined slightly, the Central Bureau of Statistics reported yesterday.

On a seasonally adjusted basis, exports shot up 17.2 per cent to \$499.6m., while imports were trimmed by 3 per cent to \$690.4m.

On a year-on-year basis, however, the figures indicated the trade picture had deteriorated. The February trade gap widened by a slight 3.3 per cent, to \$223.6m., as net exports rose 21.5 per cent to \$306.3m. and imports gained 15.9 per cent to \$831m.

Seasonally adjusted import figures, which were released on Friday, showed average imports for January and February, excluding transport equipment, diamonds and fuel, were up 3.8 per cent from the previous quarter to \$656.5m. As in previous months imports of consumer goods led the rise, climbing 9 per cent to \$104m., while imports of capital goods, not counting diamonds and fuel, were up 6.5 per

cent to \$409.7m.

Year-on-year figures showed a far sharper increase in consumer-good imports, with the figure shooting up just over 50 per cent from February 1986 to \$90m., while imports of all industrial goods increased just 7.3 per cent. That added up to a 15.9 per cent gain in imports to \$831m. for last month.

On the export side, average exports for January and February were up 9.8 per cent on their average for the final quarter of 1986 to \$469.1m. Leading the increase were industrial exports, which registered a strong 14.7 per cent gain to \$435m. Diamond exports trailed, with just a 5 per cent increase to \$146.2m., while agricultural exports declined 16.8 per cent to \$27.7m.

Leading the industrial-export sector were miscellaneous industries, which include such items as optics and precision machinery, up 22.5 per cent, and food and beverages, up 14.5 per cent.

On a year-on-year basis industrial exports were up a sharp 30.5 per cent from February 1986 to \$564.7m. while agricultural exports plunged 18.8 per cent to \$70.2m.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

Broad range of price cuts planned soon

The Ministry of Industry and Trade is planning to cut the prices of a number of consumer goods as well as fuel for industry, in response to slumping prices for a number of commodities in international markets, a spokesman for the ministry announced yesterday.

The planned price cuts include a 10 per cent reduction in the price of cigarettes and an as yet to be determined cut in coffee prices. In addition the price of heavy residual fuel for industry will go down in the next few days by some 10 per cent, following the recent fall in fuel prices abroad.

In a response to the ministry's announcement Elite, Ltd., the coffee monopoly, announced that the price of coffee would be changed in only six weeks, in accordance with the existing policy of price adjustments. The economy said that in the last several weeks the price of coffee has declined 15 per cent in real terms.

The price did not go up in Israel, despite a 10 per cent devaluation in the shekel on January 13, the company said. On the contrary, it went down by 3 per cent at the end of last month.

RAFAEL, the Armaments Development Authority, is planning to send a thermal-imaging device to the Paris Air Show in June in a bid to promote exports.

Thermal-imaging systems have been in use in the IDF for a long time, though the matter has usually been kept under wraps. The system picks up heat emitted by the objects and then maps out on a screen the different levels of heat creating an instant image of the target.

STOCK EXCHANGE OFFICIALS from around the world are gathering in Tel Aviv this week for a three-day workshop on the "External Relations of Stock Markets." The workshop opened last night.

The 20-30 participants, representing stock exchanges in Tokyo, Hongkong, Sydney, Johannesburg, Toronto, Buenos Aires and various European bourses, will discuss the market's ties with government authorities, the public, institutional investors and the press.

The programme includes videos of stock market operations, lectures, a panel of economic writers and tours.

FIRST INTERNATIONAL Bank is offering businessmen a two-month holiday from the NIS 1.24 commission it usually charges them for depositing post-dated cheques and credit cards against their account when they fall due. The special offer runs from March 5 to May 8, covering the pre- and post-Pesach holiday period, when shops and other businesses seek to attract buyers with easy credit terms.

The bank said it would only accept cheques for NIS 300 or more, but without a limit as to the date, so that retailers selling in instalments to be paid in 10 or 12 monthly cheques would be able to benefit fully.

First International said the offer is aimed chiefly at retail merchants and represents part of a policy to offer services tailored to them. That includes taking value-added tax payments on the 20th of the month instead of the 15th, and branch opening hours until 2 p.m. on regular business days.

THE JEWISH AGENCY ISRAEL EDUCATION FUND TENDER NO. 81/632/87

1. THE JEWISH AGENCY (hereinafter the Agency) invites tenders from building contractors for the construction of a PREKINDERGARTEN-NURSERY in KALANIT sponsored by the SOUTHPORT COMMUNITY, ENGLAND.
2. The projected construction is of an area of approximately 610 sq.m.
3. Conditions of the tender as well as all other pertinent information can be obtained from Wednesday, March 11, 1987 from the Agency, 17 Kaplan Street, Tel Aviv, room 717 between 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m., against a non-refundable deposit of NIS 200.-.
4. A special tour of the construction site for contractors will be held on Wednesday, March 18, 1987 departing at 10 a.m. from the Kalanit Secretariat, Merom Hagal Regional Council.
5. Bids should be submitted no later than 1:00 p.m. on Wednesday, April 8, 1987 at the address mentioned in paragraph 3 above.
6. This tender is open only to contractors registered in accordance with the Act regarding Registration of Contractors for the execution of Engineering and Construction Works 1969, such contractors to abide by requirements of the Act and to be eligible to carry out the works as specified.
7. The Agency does not undertake to accept the lowest, or any other bid.

More bank cuts urged

By AVI TEMKIN

Post Economic Reporter

The Bank of Israel is demanding that the commercial banks close down some 50 branches this year and make further reductions in their work-force.

The demand for a further reduction in the number of branches is part of a plan drafted by Deputy Examiner of Banks Amnon Goldschmidt, which calls for the closure of 100 branches between September 1986 and the end of 1990.

In a related development, Banks Examiner Galia Maor instructed the commercial banks to draft clear criteria on the salaries and retirement benefits of their directors.

Under the directive, the board of directors of each bank would be required to take steps to ensure it had complete information on the employment conditions of senior employees and directors. Their compensation would have to be linked to the financial performance of each bank, Maor said.

The central bank's directive on the closure of branches is the latest step in the ongoing battle between the Bank of Israel and the commercial banks on the ways to improve banks' profitability. (More on banks appears on page 6.)

The banks went to the Bank of Israel to approve a steep increase in the fees charged for their services, but the central bank has repeatedly said that before such approval is given the commercial banks must take cost-cutting measures, in particular branch closings.

The plan drafted by the central bank calls for most of the closures to be in city branches, with development areas and towns with only one bank branch exempt from the cut-backs.

Zim overhaul completed

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER

HAIFA. — Zim Navigation Co. has completed the reorganization of its operational and financial activities, with the opening of its Israel-Near East regional unit this month, with the head office in Haifa.

A Zim spokesman said yesterday that the new region would deal with all facets of trade and transportation in the eastern Mediterranean and Black Sea.

The new regional management is headed by Shaul Cohen-Mintz.

The reorganization, which has already made it possible for Zim to considerably reduce its staff work-

wide, is part of the company's new concept of acting as an integrated international transportation company, with shipping the principle component.

To make the operation possible on a more efficient basis, four regional offices have been opened to replace a larger number of branches and agencies. In London, where Edmi Simkin heads the office, all European operations have been concentrated; in New York, the office headed by Eliezer Steinbuch will handle all North and Central American matters and based in Hongkong, Rimom Ronnen is in charge of the Far East region.

More pay for moms

The National Insurance Institute will now pay hospitals NIS 760 instead of NIS 693 for each maternity case, the Knesset Labour and Social Affairs Committee has decided.

This follows the hike in the price of a day's hospitalization to NIS 180.

Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

MARKET STATISTICS

Indices:

General Share Index	120.30+0.53%
Non-Bank Index	142.30+1.12%
Arrangement	106.11+0.03%
Insurance	120.95+0.59%
Commerce, Services	138.13+1.46%
Real Estate	135.42+0.52%
Industrials	144.06+1.14%
Textiles	135.37+2.41%
Metals	137.25+1.40%
Electronics	162.98+0.47%
Chemicals	141.69+0.76%
Industrial Invest.	163.03+1.35%
Investment Cos.	160.53+1.58%
General Bond Index	110.22+0.07%
Index-linked Bonds	110.41+0.01%
Fully-linked	111.46+0.08%
Partially-linked	108.78+0.10%
Dollar-linked Bonds	108.33+0.60%
Short-term 0-2 yrs	107.89+0.59%
Medium-term 2-5 yrs	108.66+0.10%
Long-term 5+ yrs	111.87+0.09%

Turnovers:

Shares — total	NIS 17,802,700
Arrangement	NIS 3,189,900
Non-bank	NIS 14,612,800
Bonds — total	NIS 5,679,700
Index-linked	NIS 4,206,900
Dollar-linked	NIS 1,472,800
Treasury Bills	NIS 12,285,900

Share Movements:

Advances	219 (87)
of which 5% +	4 (10)
"buyers only"	58 (145)
Declines	5 (21)
of which 5% +	1 (0)
"sellers only"	115 (141)
Unchanged	28 (38)
Trading Halt	28 (38)

Bond Market Trends:

Index-linked: 177 +0.5
3% fully-linked Generally falls to 1%

4.25% fully-linked	Mixed to 1%
80% linked	Stable/slightly mixed
Double-linked:	Stable
Dollar-linked:	Stable
Admon	Mixed to 1%
Rimon	Generally mixed to 1%
Gilboa	Rises to 2%
For Curr. denominated	Mixed to 0.5%
Treasury Bills (annual yield)	28.30-32.75

Arrangement yields:

IDB ord.	17.86%
Unif. 0.1	17.86%
Discount A	17.86%
Mizrahi r.	17.96%
Hapoalim r.	17.64%
General A	17.88%
Leumi stock	17.78%
Fin. Trade 1	18.05%

SELECTED PRICE QUOTATIONS

Name	Price	Volume	% change
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Commercial Banks

(not part of "arrangement")			
Maritime	1900	1680	+1.9
General non-arr.	24250	202	+2.3
First Int'l	4900	207	+2.3
RBI	5970	2106	+3.6

Commercial Banks

(part of "arrangement")			
IDB	88300	287	—
Union 0.1	55900	3	+0.2
Discount	114000	38	—
Mizrahi	36700	522	-0.1
Hapoalim r.	60850	1606	-0.1
General A	156000	7	+0.5
Leumi 0.1	36600	3357	-0.0
Fin. Trade	51000	13	—

Mortgage Banks

Leumi Mort. r.	9480	230	-0.2
Dev. Mort.	4280	141	—
Mishkan r.	4220	1943	+2.8
Tefahot r.	22400	78	—
Merav r.	6120	165	+2.1

Financial Institutions

Agrie C	no trading		
Ind. Dev. DD	no trading		
Cit Leasing 0.1	28500	179	+1.8

Insurance

Ararat 0.1 r.	1858	242	+1.7
Hassneh r.	425	36423	+4.4
Phoenix 0.1	685	57109	-3.5
Hanielman	6850	50	—
Menorah 1	2620	7	+0.8
Seaher r.	8800	1092	+4.2
Zion Hold. 1	13420	7	-10.0

Trade & Services

Meir Erre	1330	3362	+3.8
Supersol 2	10800	643	+3.8
Delek r.	5535	3164	—
Lighterage	23000	28	+6.6
Cold Storage	1200	1912	+4.8
Dan Hotels	1700	723	-0.3
Varden Hotel	2735	101	—
Hilton 1	993	1194	+4.0

Real Estate, Building and Agriculture

Azorim	1198	22126	—
Elion	48	11815	—
Africa lar. 0.1	51100	169	—
Dankner	7560	408	-2.8
Prop. & Bldg.	3570	1275	-1.1
Baylands 0.1	4890	1584	-1.5
LDG r.	83450	77	+0.5
Rasoso r.	6190	222	+3.3
Mehadrin	7650	882	-2.6
Hedrim	1898	1254	-0.6

Industrials

Dubek b.	6430	1154	-0.5
Priz-1	no trading		
Sunfrost	15300	275	-4.4
Elita	23150	358	-0.8
Adgar	895	6468	+5.3
Argaman r.	16000	141	+5.5
Delta G 1	4720	840	+3.4
Maquette 1	4700	239	-1.9
Eagle 1	28888	248	+0.7
Poigan	4390	718	+0.2
Schoenrina	17819	142	—
Rogovin	2900	758	+1.3
Urdan 0.1 r.	8700	226	+3.6
Is. Can Co. 1	4440	3054	—
Zion Cables	2541	335	+0.0
Pecker-Steel	22150	114	—

Investment Companies

IDB Dev. r.	8850	1632	+1.0
Elion	5370	2384	+3.3
Galit	303	6854	+4.5
Gabriel	1680	574	+6.3
Israel Corp. 1	19000	556	—
Wolfson 1 r.	139700	0	+10.0
Hapoalim Inv.	10700	866	+3.9
Discount Invest.	5930	5603	+1.0
Mizrahi Invest.	30789	75	+3.7
Cit 10	1601	10018	+2.6
Landeco 0.1	3070	459	—
Parne 0.1	no trading		

Oil Exploration

Paz Oil Expl.	27250	209	+1.5
J.O.E.L.	5320	1410	+1.0

Abbreviations:

s.o. sellers only b.o. buyers only
b.b. bearers r registered

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Post-rotation Shamir

THERE CAN BE no question about it any longer. Yitzhak Shamir secured the premiership by "rotation" from Shimon Peres last October by fraud.

The rotation was a linchpin of the agreement that brought the national unity government into being. But so was the premise that the rotation in the middle of the government's term would not affect the continuity of its policies. With the Alignment and the Likud evenly matched, some policies might be expected to lack bipartisan support even though they fitted into the government's basic policy guidelines.

But it was not contemplated that, with the rotation completed, an attempt would be made to completely reverse an already established policy line of this same administration.

When Mr. Peres, as premier, committed Israel to the idea of an international conference as a framework for direct peace negotiations with Jordan and the Palestinians, in October 1985, he did not do so without consulting the vice premier and foreign minister, then Mr. Shamir. Mr. Shamir, for his part, did not fail to inform Mr. Peres of his objections to the idea, but neither did he miss several opportunities to revise the original text of some of Mr. Peres's statements on the subject.

If it was Mr. Shamir's view at the time that pushing the international conference initiative was the "stupidest" diplomatic move ever by an Israeli leader, and a clear and present danger to the safety of the republic, honesty would have obliged him to make an issue of it, even to the point of breaking the government. Mr. Shamir did nothing of the kind.

What he did was to lie low enough so as not to give Mr. Peres cause to renege on the rotation agreement, and bide his time.

Now that he is premier, such a tactic is evidently no longer in order. Instead he insists that Mr. Peres must reverse his policy, stop his diplomatic activity on behalf of a conference, and cease slandering Mr. Shamir for his past connivance.

The reasons that impel the premier to take this belligerent, uncompromising stand are not hard to divine. Killing the conference idea means doing away with any hope of negotiations over the future of the territories, and this in turn is deemed to ensure that they remain Israel's forever. The Herut leader who can sport so heroic a feather in his cap is a good bet to win the contest at the party's upcoming convention.

The fact that in holding up any possible movement towards peace he has also humbled Labour's chairman and rubbed his face in the dirt should only further endear Mr. Shamir to his constituency.

But this government was not conceived as a branch of Herut, nor was it meant to turn into a branch of Herut after the rotation. So that if, for example, the premier will not approve any name on the foreign minister's list of candidates for ambassador in Washington unless Mr. Peres surrenders unconditionally by scrapping his international conference plans, Israel would better remain without an ambassador in Washington.

True, Israel's vital nexus with America is now darkly, and ominously, overcast by the Pollard affair. But to deal effectively with this problem the country must have an effectively functioning government, and not the double entendre over which Mr. Shamir presides.

Unfriendly act

ONE OFFSHOOT of the Pollard affair appears to be the refusal of the government of Canada to accredit Aluf Amos Yaron. Israel's military attaché in Washington, as military attaché in Ottawa as well.

Canada's official reason is Aluf Yaron's indirect involvement in the Sabra and Shatilla massacres in September 1982. This reason is a trifle hard to credit. The role of the then Tat-Aluf Yaron in the massacre was fully probed by the Kahan Commission, which found the general to have been derelict in not trying to actively prevent Lebanese Phalangists from killing the Palestinians in the camps. But he had no role, of course, in the Phalangists bloody scheme. Nevertheless, the commission recommended that he not be given a field command position for the next three years, and the recommendation was endorsed and acted upon.

It is doubtful whether many of the countries with which Canada has full and amicable relations would have adopted a similarly strict procedure in similar circumstances. And it is also doubtful whether the same criterion applied to Yaron is in fact indiscriminately applied to the entire diplomatic corps in Ottawa.

What lie behind the Canadian objections to Aluf Yaron are in all probability some messages from Washington. With its ear close to the American ground, the government of Brian Mulroney, seeking to mend fences with the U.S. that were damaged by Pierre Trudeau, is doing to Aluf Yaron what it assumes Washington would like it to do, and what Washington could not well do when Aluf Yaron arrived in the U.S. capital last year, before the Pollard affair broke.

If this is indeed the case, the U.S. and Canada have conspired against Israel in an unfriendly manner. And if Canada decided on its own, that too involves a distinct injustice to a fine officer and the country he represents.

POLLARD

(Continued from Page One)

bills are said to have reached some \$200,000.

"Morris [Pollard] established a bank account with \$25, hoping to receive some help," Henderson said. "The last time we checked it had \$24 in it because the bank took \$1 for a service fee."

He said that he had told his daughter of the changed mood in Israel towards the affair as a result of the very stiff sentences imposed.

She and her husband have long felt that their only hope of getting out of jail was if the Israeli government intervened with the U.S. government on their behalf and got them deported to Israel.

YARON

(Continued from Page One)

zhak Rabin and other Israeli officials.

But Israel has so far been reluctant to bring Yaron back home. There has been speculation that he might be returned this summer and given a new position in the IDF.

Israeli sources do not believe that Canada would have rejected Yaron without first discussing the issue with the U.S. at a relatively high level.

Other informed sources in Washington yesterday suggested that the Canadians did indeed raise the issue with the Americans and were given "a green light" to reject Yaron.

The problems of conferring

Zalman Shoval

THE CONTROVERSY about the pros and cons of Israel's participation in an international peace conference has of late assumed an almost ideological character, and it could even break up the national unity government. But in reality the question of whether to participate or not is a purely pragmatic one and should be treated as such.

One of the issues in the current polemic surrounding the conference idea is whether or why past governments had agreed to participate in such a conference — as if this had any bearing on the decisions which present or future governments will have to take. Still, it would not be wrong to say that at least in the past, all Israeli governments thought that bringing the Arab-Israel conflict before an international forum would not be in Israel's best interest. At best, it was perceived as a "necessary evil."

'Nor can Israel afford to be completely sanguine about the role the Americans would play at a conference.'

Israel's reluctance "to go international" is based on sound reasoning: in any multi-party forum she would perform itself in a state of virtual isolation — even with regard to some of her minimalist positions. None of the participants, including the U.S., supports, for instance, Israel's stand on Jerusalem — nor has Washington so far abandoned its official position that Israel should return to the pre-1967 borders — with, perhaps, "minor modifications" (though more than one American policy-maker would privately admit this to be unrealistic). Another ticklish problem is who will represent the Palestinian Arabs?

The Soviet role at any conference dealing with the Middle East has also always been of concern to Israeli statesmen. Moscow was usually perceived to exert not a moderating influence on the Arabs, but quite the opposite.

Nor can Israel afford to be completely sanguine about the role the Americans would play at a conference. True, the U.S. has proved many a time that she is Israel's friend in need and in deed, and there is no reason to believe that there will be a change for the worse in this respect (in spite of Secretary Weinberger's reported pronouncement regarding the "danger" of a strong Israel). But, as already mentioned, Washington and Jerusalem do not see eye to eye on some major aspects of the problem.

Moreover, on the strength of the evidence of some of the main American players themselves, one cannot disregard the vagaries and inconsistencies in some of the U.S. attitudes with regard to the Arab-Israel conflict — especially its Palestinian aspects — which could lead to a situation where Israel would all of a sudden find herself in serious conflict with her major ally. Indeed, out of fear of being branded too intimate an ally of Israel, the U.S. might even search for opportunities to put some distance between herself and us.

Another factor to be taken into consideration is, of course, the attitude of Cairo. Even before Camp David, Sadat's Egypt had not been very anxious for an international conference (though outwardly going through the motions of supporting it) — assessing that her own concerns would be better served in a diplomatic forum which did not include the Soviets and the other interested

Arab parties.

But now that Sinai is safely back in her hands, and with Egypt's eagerness to once again don the mantle of "Leader of the Arab World," it wouldn't be unnatural for Cairo to lean over backwards in championing the Palestinian cause, in fact be its most vociferous spokesman at the conference.

IN ORDER to see the picture in perspective, one must, however, go back at least to the 1973 Geneva Conference — which has served (and still does) as the model for all other initiatives in this sphere. After the 1973 war, the UN Security Council, in resolution 338, decided that there should be immediate negotiations "under appropriate auspices, aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East." It was furthermore decided that the U.S. and the Soviet Union would act as co-chairmen at the conference.

After some initial doubts, the then prime minister Golda Meir agreed that Israel should go to Geneva but in fact, the conference did not deal with the broader aspects of the Arab-Israel conflict as it limited itself to questions directly related to the Yom Kippur War. It is also interesting to note that even then, most of the more purposeful talks did not actually take place at the conference itself, but somewhere else.

After this first Geneva Conference (which was concerned with military disengagements, etc.) ended, nothing further happened for two years. Only then did Henry Kissinger make a fresh attempt at reconvening the conference, and in the course of these efforts, he and the late Yigal Allon signed a memorandum of agreement, which, *inter alia*, stated that "the U.S. will make every effort to ensure that the conference will be on a bilateral basis" — while Allon, in return, agreed in effect that the PLO would no longer be excluded from the conference if it agreed to "recognize Israel's right to exist" and "accepted Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338."

In retrospect, the mention of a PLO role at the conference, even though conditional, was a major mistake of Israeli diplomacy. Indeed this formula was to crop up again and again in subsequent talks — though prime minister Rabin, in 1977, clearly stated that he did not agree with it.

FOR A variety of reasons (e.g. Watergate and its aftermath) there was hardly any follow-up to these 1975 efforts to revive Geneva, and only in 1977 did the newly-elected Carter administration once again set its sights on it.

The Middle East experts of the outgoing Ford administration had seen a revival of the 1973 Geneva formula as unavoidable, but it was thought that the conference would primarily be "symbolic," i.e., a cover for serious negotiations elsewhere. They also noted that a move in the direction of Geneva would "inevitably cause some strain in U.S.-Israeli relations."

The new Carter administration more or less accepted this assessment, and in February 1977, in its first strategy session, the new president's team, including secretary of state Vance, national security adviser Brzezinski, vice-president Mondale, defense secretary Brown and Middle East expert Bill Quandt, summed up that before actually reconvening the conference, there should be some degree of prior agreement with the different parties.

There was one point, however, on which Brzezinski and Vance did not see eye to eye: While the former thought that Geneva should be the final phase after agreements had already been reached, and that the Soviets should not be included in the initial discussions, Vance maintained that it would be a mistake to postpone Geneva for too long, and that at some point Moscow would have to be brought into the talks.

Shortly after, Vance left for the Middle East in order to sound out the leaders of the region. At the conclusion of his trip he reported that all had accepted the idea of a Geneva conference (though Sadat's support seemed to have been more qualified). The Arab leaders, however, wanted the conference to take place only after prior agreement on most of the issues had been reached — about which Quandt comments in his book on Camp David, "What they (the Arab leaders) really wanted, was an American plan that the United States would impose on Israel, not lengthy and open-ended negotiations at Geneva."

IN JUNE 1977, there was a change of government in Israel. Menachem Begin became prime minister and appointed Moshe Dayan as foreign minister. The new Israeli government did not go back on the previous Israeli governments' acceptance of the Geneva conference, but it insisted that the conference should be held "without prior conditions." However, whereas other Israeli prime ministers had believed that Israel's policy should be coordinated with Washington, Begin resisted the idea of too active an American role, for fear that an "externally devised

'Needless to say, the idea of an international conference, was in effect put in deep freeze.'

formula might be imposed on Israel."

The U.S. role, in Begin's view, was to bring the parties to the negotiating table; then Israel "would work out the terms of peace treaties with each of its adversaries..." In other words, Geneva was still on, as far as the team Begin-Dayan was concerned — but Israel would now try to regain the diplomatic initiative it had lost over the years.

In his first meeting with Carter, in July 1977, Begin — after affirming that Israel was ready to negotiate on the basis of UN Resolutions 242 and 338, proposed that the Geneva conference should be convened with an opening session, followed by the setting up of "mixed commissions" that would then proceed to negotiate peace treaties. Only when the treaties were ready for signature, would the conference be reconvened (this formula is similar to the proposals now expounded by Shimon Peres).

Begin initially also agreed (though he later changed his mind) that Palestinians would be able to participate in the negotiations along with the Jordanians, and that Israel would not inspect their credentials — but that they could not be PLO.

Begin may have believed at this point that the chances of ever reaching agreement at Geneva were practically nil, and that there was therefore no great risk in agreeing to the conference and even participating in it — while in the meantime Israel would go on building settlements in the territories.

Dayan, on the other hand, probably better understood the inherent

Dry Bones



dangers in this policy. He correctly judged that even a Geneva conference without "prior conditions" was potentially harmful to Israel. If the conference would end, as he expected it would, in failure, Washington, far from letting things rest where they were, would start leaning on Israel more than ever before. Dayan, therefore, probably reached the conclusion that the best thing would be to scuttle Geneva altogether — and if this should prove impossible, to outflank it.

One of the first moves Dayan made at the time was to talk to Secretary Vance about the idea of a transitional regime for the West Bank — arguing that in essence this would not be in conflict with American aims. Vance seems to have been impressed by this reasoning, and he recommended that Carter discuss it with Dayan when next they met.

Dayan's misgivings about going to Geneva rested on solid ground, for there were clear indications that Carter, contrary to his previous position, now advocated that the Geneva conference be convened as early as possible — with or without prior agreements for he believed that in the course of the conference, Israel would have to become more flexible.

In order to advance his policy, Carter decided to resort to the proven tactic of the carrot and stick: On the one hand the U.S. promised Jerusalem that no Arab party would be allowed to veto an agreement reached between Israel and any other Arab party (as the Syrians had demanded), but on the other, Washington signed (and perhaps even initiated) the Middle East joint statement with the Soviet Union — which included a reference to "the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people," without even mentioning direct talks between the parties.

It is worthwhile noting that the USSR is consistent in this respect — as its ambassador to Jordan has recently made it clear — its government, while agreeing that there should be bilateral talks between Israel and her Arab neighbours, insisted that final decisions would only be made by the conference as a whole. In other words, at the proposed conference, Israel could find herself in splendid isolation, facing the Arabs, the Soviet Union — and perhaps also the other permanent members of the Security Council — plus the U.S.

THE AMERICAN-Soviet joint statement created a furor not only in Israel (and Egypt), but also within American public opinion. It almost immediately became clear that in political terms (especially with regard to internal U.S. politics) it was a major mistake on the part of the Carter administration. Dayan, helped by the negative attitude of most of the American press and of the U.S. Congress to bringing the Soviets so prominently into the picture — and by the feeling among liberal Democrats and many prominent American Jews that this could lead towards a sell-out of Israel's interests — immediately proceeded to turn the new situation to Israel's advantage.

As Bill Quandt writes in his book: "In retrospect, October 4 (i.e. 3 days after the U.S.-Soviet document)

stands out as an important day in the evolution of the American strategy, aimed at comprehensive peace negotiations." That same day Carter had also received a message from Sadat, "urging that nothing be done to prevent Israel and Egypt from negotiating directly, with (America) serving as an intermediary either before or after the Geneva conference is convened." But the most important meeting was to be that evening between Carter and Dayan.

And Quandt continues: "For more than three hours the two men argued and debated and negotiated. Even then it took two more hours to reach agreement..." The long and the short of it was, that when the nocturnal marathon was over, the Soviet-American statement had in effect been shelved — to be replaced by what became known as the "U.S.-Israel Working Paper." No less important, the animosity and understanding between the two countries had been fully restored.

Dayan also made some concessions — mainly with regard to the role to be played at the conference by the Palestinian Arabs — for officially the agreements between Washington and Jerusalem were still in the context of Geneva. The true situation, however, was that two weeks earlier the Israeli foreign minister had had the first of his secret meetings in Morocco with President Sadat's envoy Tohami — with the clear aim of circumventing Geneva and replacing it by direct negotiations between Egypt and Israel — with the U.S. providing its good offices.

The stage had been set; next came Sadat's momentous visit to Jerusalem, and after that the successful Camp David negotiations, which not only led to a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, but also constituted one of America's major international political achievements in recent history — confirming its position as the dominant great power in the region — to the detriment of the Soviets.

Needless to say, the idea of an international conference, while not being completely abandoned, was in effect put in "deep freeze." Both Israel and the U.S. must ponder very carefully the question whether there now really exists sufficient grounds to change their negative position in this respect.

The writer is a former MK.

READERS' LETTERS

INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATIONS

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — The fact that the vote to allocate NIS 14 million for the 40th Yom Ha'atzmaut celebrations was won by only a slim majority shows that there are still some sane thinkers in the Knesset.

Many of the MKs who voted for the allocation were not around when Israel achieved independence and they bear little resemblance to our early pioneers who built up the land on socialist Zionist principles.

In our present economic climate, Independence Day should be celebrated with simplicity. The spirit and morale of the celebration cannot be bought with money. The state

could well note the example of the kibbutzim which use homespun talents and resources to celebrate holidays.

I would suggest that President Herzog intervene and put a stop to this nonsense. For where is this money to come from? Strikes break out every day which indicate that our health and education systems are in a state of total collapse. Young people are leaving the country because they cannot find jobs, housing or support their families.

If there is no money to solve these problems, how will the NIS 14m. be raised? WENDY BLUMFIELD Haifa

'TRIAL PERIOD' IN ISRAEL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — I find it difficult to understand the "logic" of the suggestion that Russian immigrants be permitted to come to Israel for a "trial period" of 6 months, without losing the status that would permit them to enter the U.S. should they not adjust to Israel.

Who, including the most dedicated and informed oleh adjusts to

Israel in 6 months? Is it really thought that a "trial period" will be enough to "sell" anyone the life-style here, particularly when during this period the confused potential new immigrants will fall between the chairs in the war between the Absorption Ministry and the Jewish Agency?

Ma'alot ELAINE KOPP

THE 'HAVUROT' MOVEMENT

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — Bravo to Aryeh Rubinstein for his article, "American Jewry: Dead or Alive?" (February 2). It was a breath of fresh air. However, you report without comment Prof. Bernard Reisman's enthusiastic hope for the *havurot* and *minyanim* that are forming to seek out authentically Jewish religious definitions which are "consonant with their modern intellectual values."

It seems to me I have been hearing of these promising beginnings for at least 15 years. It is my impression that despite early enthusiasm the *havurot* component of American Jewish life has already peaked without bringing the vast changes its founders expected. That's a fairly common history of new institutional formats.

Since Reisman is professor of American Jewish communal studies at Brandeis, perhaps he has data on the growth of the *havurot* movement. If so, we should be told about it.

JOSEPH LERNER Highland Park, Illinois

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